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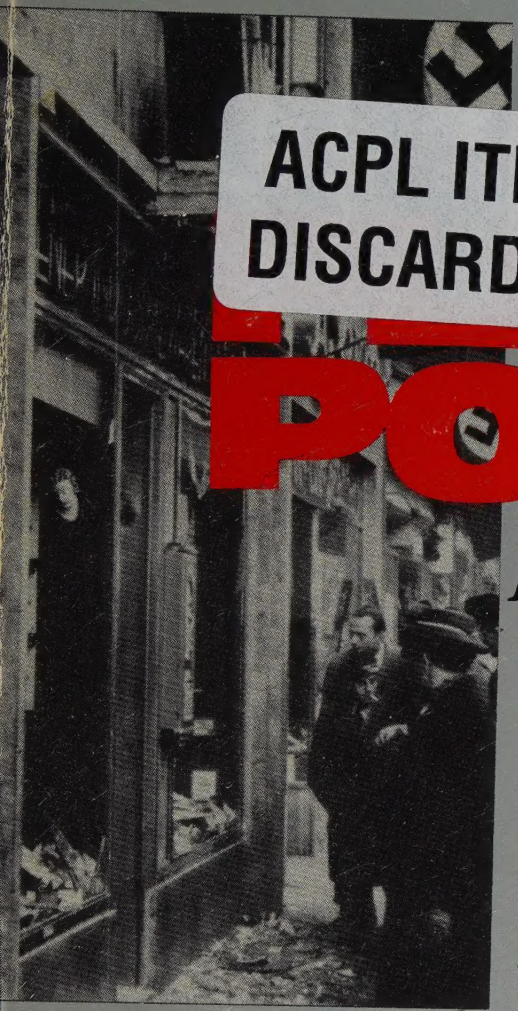

FLASH POINT

Kristallnacht 1938

Instigators, Victims and Beneficiaries

INGRID WECKERT

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Kristallnacht 1938

Instigators, Victims and Beneficiaries

INGRID WECKERT
Foreword by Wilfred von Oven

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

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FLASHPOINT:
Kristallnacht 1938,
Instigators, Victims
and Beneficiaries
by Ingrid Weckert

With a publisher's preface,
foreword by Wilfred von Oven,
and glossary.

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Publisher's Preface

During the night of November 9-10, 1938, brown-shirted stormtroopers leading angry mobs attacked synagogues and looted Jewish homes and businesses throughout Germany. The worldwide impact of this act of violence was immediate and profound. As history records, no single event so drastically changed German-Jewish relations.

And yet, in spite of all that has been written, much about this pivotal event remains unclear and buried under legend. Even the extent of the destruction is often exaggerated. According to a November 9, 1988, *New York Times* editorial, for example, one thousand Jews died during the tumult. In fact, fewer than a hundred lost their lives. (Security Chief Heydrich privately reported to Goering that 36 Jews had been killed. According to another official report, 91 died.)

Some facts are beyond dispute. It is clear, for example, that some National Socialist Party leaders and "brown shirt" stormstroopers took part in the mob action. It is likewise a fact that when Hitler heard about the outbreak of violence, he immediately ordered an end to the lawlessness.

In this valuable and startling book, German author Ingrid Weckert sweeps aside much of the distortion, falsehood, and nonsense that surrounds this emotion-charged chapter of history. She has examined all the available documents and relevant sources to reconstruct what actually happened, and put it all in historical context.

Carefully marshaling the evidence, she establishes that much of the generally accepted "Crystal Night" story cannot stand up to close scrutiny.

It is widely claimed, for example, that propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels, acting on Hitler's instructions, ordered the outburst of violence. However, as Weckert shows, Goebbels could not have instigated the Crystal Night tumult. For one thing, he lacked the authority to secretly order a pogrom. And when he learned the next morning about he extent of the lawlessness, he was outraged and promptly issued a strongly worded official statement calling on the population to refrain immediately from further actions or demonstrations of any kind against the Jews.

Who, then, instigated the violence? What were their motives? Weckert provides circumstantial—if unavoidably inconclusive—evidence that points the finger of blame at those who benefited most from this aberrant lawlessness, and who were most eager to discredit Germany and its leadership.

Above all, Weckert suggests, this meant the powerful Jewish organizations headquartered in New York, Paris and London that had "declared war" against Hitler shortly after he came to power in 1933.

For most certainly it was neither Germany nor Hitler's National Socialist regime that benefited from Crystal Night. At one stroke, German prestige was dealt a crippling blow. A wave of intense anti-German propaganda and hostile sentiment quickly followed in the wake of the violence. The damage to relations with the United States was particularly severe. President Franklin Roosevelt promptly recalled the American ambassador from Berlin and left only a charge d'affaires at the post.

Hitler complained bitterly in private: "It is terrible. They have destroyed everything for me like elephants in a china shop—and much worse. I had the great hope that I was about to come to an understanding with France. And now this!"

Especially in recent years, Crystal Night has been cited as the prelude to genocide and mass extermination. As Weckert shows, though, this facile and propagandistic view simply will not stand up to close scrutiny.

Weckert tells the fascinating but suppressed story of German-Zionist collaboration, including the formal *Ha'avara* ("Transfer") agreement between the Zionist Jewish Agency and the Third Reich to encourage emigration of German Jews to Palestine.

It is often forgotten that Jewish Zionists and German National Socialists shared similar views about the "Jewish question," and accordingly worked together between 1933 and 1939 to encourage German Jews to emigrate to Palestine. Hitler's government agreed with the Zionist view that the Jews of the world constitute a distinct nation all their own, regardless of country of residence or citizenship. Zionists and National Socialists agreed that Jews belonged in Palestine, not Germany.

Much of the value of this eye-opening book lies in the author's devastating critique of the superficiality, sloppiness, and plain dishonesty of many of today's prominent historians.

By a remarkable twist of fate, the infamous Berlin Wall that divided Germany's capital and stood for decades as a symbol of Communist repression and Cold War tension suddenly came down on November 9, 1989, the fifty-first anniversary of Crystal Night.

This book is not and cannot be the final word on this subject. Many questions unavoidably remain unanswered. All the same, Ingrid Weckert has made an estimable contribution to greater understanding of an important but unfortunately highly propagandized chapter of history.

In Place of a Foreword

Probably no leading personality of the Third Reich (except Hitler) has been blamed for so much as has been its Propaganda Minister, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. By publishing the diaries[1] I kept as his personal press advisor during the last two years of the war, I was able to allay many a prejudice, and to refute many of the malicious assertions that were already being generated during his lifetime, and seized upon only too greedily by enemy propaganda, especially after 1945. The published diaries had this effect perhaps because they were written by one who, for the duration of the Third Reich, never belonged to the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party) or to any of its echelons (as an army reserve officer, I was assigned by the Wehrmacht high command press section to serve with Goebbels). I ascribe to this circumstance the fact that even convinced, not to say bitter, opponents of National Socialism were impressed by my book, or, at least given pause, and, if they were honest with themselves, ended up revising their judgment of the man at whose side I stood during the last two — and most difficult — years of the war, and of his life.

Only on one single point in matters concerning Goebbels did I fail to convince anyone. That was when talk turned to the *Kristallnacht,* the disgraceful anti-Jewish pogrom of the night of November 9th, 1938, and to the role Dr. Goebbels allegedly played in it.

Even personal and political friends, nonconformist contemporary historians and dedicated revisionists (like David Irving) assumed, *a priori,* that Goebbels inspired, or even organized, the anti-Jewish excesses of that time. When I maintained the contrary, I was met, at best, with an indulgent smile and the remark, "But, my dear fellow, we know all about that." But really, what does one know about it? Virtually nothing. Among all the papers of the victors' tribunal at Nuremberg, there is just one single document on which all contentions of Goebbels' responsibility for the *Kristallnacht* are based. It comprises the statements of a subaltern SS-officer on Himmler's staff, Luitpold Schallermeier, to whom Himmler was supposed to have dictated a memorandum-for-file (Himmler's adjutant, SS-Group Leader [General] Wolff told me that it was he who had dictated the memo to Schallermeier). In this memorandum, Himmler "surmised" that Goebbels, because of his "hunger for power and his empty-headedness" had unleashed this action against the Jews. As questionable (and inconclusive) as this "document" and its origin are, it must be regarded as the point of departure for all rumors about Goebbels' responsibility for the *Kristallnacht.*

It cannot be doubted that Himmler (and many other rivals of Goebbels') expressed himself in this vein after the catastrophe of November 9-10, 1938, as is verified by Wolff. But such remarks—as is borne out by the Schallermeier Document—are nothing more than "conjectures," unsupported by

evidence of any kind. In rebuking Goebbels for "power hunger and empty-headedness," Himmler refutes himself. Evidence can be shown for the Propaganda Minister's hunger for power, not for his empty-headedness. Aside from Himmler, no one, even among his sharpest antagonists, would dispute Goebbels' extraordinary intelligence. It was this very intelligence which, throughout his public life, helped him rein in his feelings (which doubtless were there) and caused him to weigh his every action carefully, which from the start kept me from believing in his connection with the Jewish pogrom.

When it happened, I gave it no thought. I don't even remember if we volunteers of the Condor Legion, who then were getting ready to deal the last blow against the Reds in Spain, even heard of it. If we did, the news made no impression. We had other things on our minds. In the Spanish Civil War, hundreds of houses of worship—no synagogues, to be sure—were set on fire, desecrated, laid waste. Not a few dozen, but hundreds of thousands of people had lost their lives, often in horrible ways. That moved us more, it demanded our personal intervention, and took up all our physical and moral energies. As little as the *Kristallnacht* touched me personally, so heavily did the news thereof fall on another formerly personal assistant to Goebbels, who also found himself abroad at that time.

Friedrich Christian, Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe, Goebbels' adjutant until 1934, and not only officially (as was I) a Brownshirt leader from the old days of violent conflict, with personal connection to Adolf Hitler, but also personally on terms of friendship with Goebbels. In November 1938, he was in Sweden where, through his personal relationships, and by lecturing in Stockholm and Uppsala, he was working to gain sympathy for Germany: But all that he had achieved toward that end was nullified by news of the events of the night of November 9th. German propaganda, at whose service the Prince had put himself gladly and with full conviction, became unbelievable at one stroke, and produced the opposite effect. And Goebbels himself supposedly delivered this blow? Prince Schaumburg resolved to call his friend and former superior to account.

Returning to Berlin, he announced himself to Goebbels. The Prince was ashamed of what had happened, and said so in the presence of officials of the foreign section of the propaganda ministry. He said so, openly, in the presence of the Norwegian Consul General in Berlin, Elef Ringnes, who, in a book that appeared in 1962, testifies thereto. Pogroms were an item of daily routine in Eastern Europe, but had not happened in Germany or in other civilized countries of Central and Western Europe since the Middle Ages, not even as a consequence of the Dreyfus affair in France (1894), in the course of which the people's long-accumulated anti-Jewish sentiments broke to the surface. Pogroms, manifested by looting, burning, and killing, were—as is the word—of Russian origin, and are unworthy of a civilized nation. The indisputable power of the Jews in Germany had been broken legally in 1933

by National Socialism. The German people, through their government, formed in an incontestably democratic way via the Nuremberg Laws, had established a clear dividing-line to separate the Jews who were held to be unrelated to them by blood. And now—in 1938—suddenly, a pogrom? A pogrom whose instigator was said to be Goebbels, whom the Prince thought he knew so well? Prince Schaumburg couldn't get that through his head. He had to be certain. The meeting was granted, its timing set promptly. He was well known to the personnel in the minister's ante-room. He was admitted at once to Goebbels' office, even though Goebbels was still engaged in conversation with Count Helldorf, President of the Berlin Police. The two were standing in front of the high windows overlooking the Wilhelmplatz. They were so engrossed in their talk that they failed to notice the Prince's entrance. Thus, as he wrote in his memoirs,[2] he "was witness," without their knowledge "to a conversation that was very interesting to me." It was about the *Kristallnacht*, the reason why Schaumburg, too, had come to see the minister. Goebbels was in a state of the most extreme agitation, which we, his closest collaborators, recognized only too well. A vein on his forehead was swollen with anger, his face reddened. With an aggressive gesture familiar to us, he turned repeatedly to his massive partner in the conversation, who was at least a head taller, "as if he wanted to grab him by the jacket." The attendant details of this conversation are so true-to-life that I deem its content also to be correct.

One of the Prince's most pronounced characteristics and which Goebbels, among others, valued most highly in him was his absolute candor (which proved occasionally imprudent and detrimental to him in his political career). Consequently, there is no reason to doubt the tenor of the conversation as it was set down by him.

"The whole business is outrageous," Goebbels said, among other things, according to Schaumburg's verbatim quotation.

"*That* is not the way to solve the Jewish problem, not by any means. Not that way. That only makes martyrs out of them—and then? We have disgraced ourselves before the whole world, Helldorf ... and I? I am expected to bail us out of this idiocy, to iron everything out again with propaganda. An impossibility. We become unbelievable when we do things like that, do you understand me? ... They have cut the ground out from under me. They have made me a laughing stock."

Goebbels gripped his head with both hands [this typical gesture of his is related also in my diaries] before he went on. "We could not possibly have done the opposing propaganda a greater service. Our people have killed a dozen Jews,[3] but for this dozen we may have to pay some day with a million German soldiers."

Prince Schaumburg closes this chapter of his notes with the statement: "What Goebbels told Helldorf was consummated in ghastly fashion." It was only in the number, that appeared exaggerated at the time, that Goebbels

erred. It was not one million, but many millions, and not only soldiers, but women and children, the sick and the old who were victims of the crimes of mass bombings, expulsion from their homes, and blind vengeance. For the Third Reich and, very much in particular, its propaganda minister, it was a frightful, perhaps even the fateful, blow. Goebbels had seen that accurately, and that not just "post festum" (after the party, as it were). No one can dispute that Goebbels was an uncompromising opponent of the Jews. But this emotion, too, was held in check by his icy intelligence.

Especially at the moment, a Jewish pogrom (that, it was felt, he might have been perfectly capable of organizing) was immeasurably awkward for him, and for the entire leadership of the Reich. Directly after the Munich Conference and the Vienna Arbitration, through which even the respect for Germany had reached its high point internationally, everything depended on preserving the confidence that had been gained.

To that end, Goebbels had long since reduced to a minimum the anti-Jewish propaganda campaign he had assiduously conducted, not to say, over-conducted, so in the era of armed struggle. A little later, when the Stalin Pact was in the making, he would do this just as consistently with anti-Bolshevist propaganda. For Goebbels (as for Hitler), propaganda was always a function, albeit an uncommonly important one, of politics. Its purpose was to open, to smooth, at times even to make the way possible for politics. And precisely this man was to have placed so enormous an obstacle as the *Kristallnacht* in the path of the Reich's policy at so critical a juncture? That ran counter to normal common sense. I could not, and cannot, believe it.

But, then, who perpetrated, or at least inspired, the *Kristallnacht*? The victors have had thirty-six years (up until 1980) and all the means to clarify this question that, after all, is not without importance. They haven't done so. For understandable reasons. They would have destroyed the myth they had invented, that the *Kristallnacht* was the beginning of the "final solution" (as they misrepresented it). Instead, as November ninth and tenth came around for the fortieth time (in 1978), the fable of the "Nazis," and of Goebbels, very especially, as instigators of the *Kristallnacht* was served up once again, when all reasonable reflection pointed in the other direction.

On the occasion of its fortieth anniversary, at the Society for Free Journalism's Kassel Conference on the causes and outbreak of the Second World War, I discussed the question of my former chief's responsibility for the *Kristallnacht*. A burning interest was aroused in me by one manuscript, the more so as its author was younger than I by a generation, who as a child had lived through the events with which she dealt. Her theological studies (including Hebrew), and long professional activity in Israel, helped her in the development of her thesis. With the sober factualism of the generation whose political consciousness was formed after 1945, she attacked one of the most sacred taboos of established contemporary history and demolished it utterly. Because her strictly scientific work refutes conclusively the lie about

Goebbels' conception or instigation of the *Kristallnacht*, I wish to express my very special personal gratitude for her courage in championing historical truth.

—Wilfred von Oven
Buenos Aires
March 1981

> We must not treat lightly, and least of all by surrendering ourselves demeaningly, a question that goes to the root of all the hatred against us [Germans]. If we correctly understand precisely this question—How is it that we can be hated so deeply, as though we were barbarians?—and delve into it, we will become more conscious of the certainty of high-mindedness in German life, without self-presumption and without self-abasement. —E. G. Kolbenheyer[4]

The research that follows consists, primarily, of a posing of questions. With the *Kristallnacht* theme, I have gone into the accessible literature in detail, and in my investigation came upon a series of grave disagreements and contradictions. The differences in the various depictions prompted me to ask: How were things in fact? What has been proven? What is merely surmise?

Forty years after the event, in 1978, it is difficult, if not indeed impossible, to obtain answers to all decisive questions. Not all documents are accessible; much was not even recorded. The eyewitnesses of that time can be mistaken, or their recollections confused about much of what they heard, or read, only afterward—perhaps for the first time during the post-war "re-education" period—about what really took place. In short, this investigation will not bring the whole truth to light.

Nevertheless, I can throw more light on this confused affair. It has been asserted for years, on no evidence whatever, that *"It was Goebbels who set the synagogues afire."* The historians who proffer that blanket judgment will not long have a place in history. It must be a matter of proof, clearly and unequivocally, that he set them on fire. If it turns out that Goebbels did not "set the synagogues afire," the matter must be investigated further. What really did happen?

"Reichskristallnacht" is the popular term, and the one used in public propaganda, for the night of the 9th to the 10th of November 1938, when Jews were assailed in their dwellings, windows of Jewish businesses and shops were smashed, and synagogues burned. Crowds of agitated people moved through the streets of the cities, forced their way into Jewish homes, wantonly destroyed property, looted stores. Some Jews were badly beaten, and even murdered.

The younger people among us may well ask in horror: Why this? What had happened?

That is the question we also put to ourselves: Why? And what? The night of the 9th/10th of November, besides being shameful and tragic, can be seen

from another aspect, an extremely strange one: its events have not been cleared up to the present day! Two generations after the assaults and the murders of that night, we know as little about the instigators and the motives that impelled them as we did back then when it all happened. Although in the years after the German defeat a veritable dragnet was undertaken to ferret out and seize all Germans suspected, somewhere at sometime of having once touched the hair of a Jew, no effort was ever made to find the organizers of this *Kristallnacht* and bring them to account.

This issue also is worth a "Why?"!

There is but one serious study of this subject in the German language: Hermann Graml, *Der 9. November 1938: Reichskristallnacht*, published in 1953 by the Federal Center for Homeland Studies [Bundeszentrale Fuer Heimatdienst], Bonn. Aside from this, the *Kristallnacht* is mentioned in brief, or at length, in many publications, but in such differing and opposing ways that they highlight only too distinctly the uncertainty and opaqueness of this whole traumatic episode.

Let us begin with a synopsis of the events that preceded the night of November 9th, 1938. It will be intriguing to face off the various accounts against each other.

CHAPTER I

The Grynszpan Case

> On October 6, 1938, the Polish Government decreed, and on October 15 published an ordinance stipulating that all Polish passports must bear a control-visa for their continued validation. Passports that did not show this visa would no longer be valid for crossing into Polish State Territory. With this ordinance, the Polish Government obviously intended to make it impossible for the numerous Polish Jews living abroad—in particular, in Germany—to return to Poland. In practice, that would mean that about 70,000 Polish Jews on the territory of the Reich would have had to be tolerated permanently in the country.[5]

With these words, on October 9, 1938, Ministerial Director Dr. Werner Best, by order of the Chief of German Police, Reichsfuehrer-SS Heinrich Himmler, informed the Chief of the Reich Chancellery, Reich Minister Dr. Lammers, of the measure suddenly taken by the Polish Government. Dr. Best's communication, stated further that the [German] Foreign Office had immediately instructed the German Embassy in Warsaw to make representations to the Polish Government to ensure that the Polish Jews living in the Reich might re-enter Poland without this visa. It was further communicated to the Polish Government that the German Government saw itself now forced, provisionally, to expel all Polish Jews from Reich territory as quickly as possible.

The Polish passport-ordinance was to take effect after October 29, 1938. In his communication, Dr. Best reports further:

> Pursuant to that, in the course of the 28th/29th of October, 1938, about 15,000 Jews—mostly adult males—were taken into custody in the entire Reich for deportation, and were taken to the Polish border in special transports.

Sanitary personnel accompanied the emigrant trains; the Jews were provided abundantly with food. "That this move was carried out humanely, as far as it could be on German soil, is attested by numerous statements, including those made by Jews, and through documents, and photographs."[6] Dr. Best, going on, wrote:

> Despite the fact that the Polish Jews were in possession of valid passports, and the passport ordinance went into effect only on October 30, 1938, acceptance of the Polish Jews was refused—obviously on instructions from Warsaw—by the Polish border authorities. Because of the concentration of thousands of Polish Jews at a few border villages, some very unpleasant conditions developed here and there. In the night of October 28/29, the expulsion of some 12,000 Polish Jews into Poland, was accomplished partly at border crossings, partly through the woods and fields.

It must be emphasized that it was not the intention to expel these Polish Jews from Germany. They were merely to obtain the required re-entry visas

from Polish authorities in order that their passports remained valid, and that they would not, as stateless persons, become a burden on the German authorities.

At first, the Polish Government reacted to this undesired re-immigration of so many Polish Jews by expelling German Jews on Polish territory. However, as early as October 29, 1938, diplomatic negotiations between Berlin and Warsaw brought about a halt in the reciprocal expulsions. The Polish Jews still in deportation-custody in Germany were released and permitted to return to their homes. After a while, most of the Polish Jews who were moved into Poland came back to Germany, either to get their families or their property, or with the required re-entry visa extending their Polish passports.

In the event, the great majority of the Polish Jews who lived in Germany at the time were unaffected by the passport-affair.

This "passport crisis"—quite unnecessarily provoked—was indicative of the absolutely hostile Polish Government policy toward the Jews.[7] Its victims were not only the Polish Jews living in Germany, but also German Jews living in Poland.

This however is of small importance to anti-German post-war writers. They wrote of Heydrich's "first mass deportations, which differed little from the later deportations to Auschwitz."[8]

The deportees were said to have been "driven across the border into the machine guns of the Polish border guards."[9] This is the tenor of postwar German history. Whatever action was taken against Jews whenever, wherever, and by whomever, it was Germans, exclusively, who were guilty.

Among the people who had been brought to the German-Polish border were the parents, brother, and sister of the 17-year old Herschel Feibel Grynszpan, who was living in Paris—the young man whose tragic pistol shots would resound through the world in the next few days and weeks. Let us listen first to what the father, Zindel Grynszpan, has to say, twenty-three years later, in the course of the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem. Burrowing into his memory, he dredged up this melodramatic tale:

> The SS-men drove us on with whips; they whipped those who couldn't keep up, and blood flowed in the street. They tore our suitcases out of our hands, they treated us in the most brutal fashion. At that time I saw the savage brutality of the Germans for the first time ... I also was beaten, and fell into a ditch.[10]

Poor father Grynszpan—was it really that horrible? Beaten with whips? But German police didn't carry whips—nor did "SS-men"—only pistols. Blood flowed onto the street? It was the end of October, and cold on the German-Polish border. Everyone was fully clothed. Whipping a fully clothed man might raise welts, but it hardly would produce blood and any such blood would be absorbed by the clothing, not run onto the street!

If such stories were looked at soberly and objectively, it would be dis-

cerned quickly that the events they purport to recount just could not have happened. Dr. Friedrich Grimm, an internationally known legal expert who examined intensively the events of that period, affirms explicitly, "The expulsion, as bitter as it was for those affected, was done humanely."[11]

Mr. Zindel Grynszpan's statements are simply fantasies. Among other happenings he recounts, for example, that he and his family were told to present themselves at Hanover Police Precinct 11. There were many people. They had to sign "something or other." "Everybody signed, only one man did not sign. I think his name was Gershon Silber. He had to stand in a corner for twenty-four hours without stirring." So father Grynszpan watched Mr. Silber stand in a corner for twenty-four hours without making a move? Well, not exactly, of course, inasmuch as twenty-four hours later, father Grynszpan was at the Polish border. He could not have watched anything because right after he put his signature to the baleful document—that he should have read, so that we might know what it was—he had to leave the police station for an assembly point.

While he was at the station house, with so "many people"—many hundreds, according to another account—father Grynszpan evidently could observe just what every single person there did, or did not do. And, of course, he remembered for twenty-three years the name of a Jew who, up to then, was unknown to him: "I believe he was named Gershon Silber."

In the night of October 28th/29th , his transportation reached the German-Polish border. "Trains arrived from everywhere, Leipzig, Cologne, Duesseldorf, Essen, Bielefeld, Bremen. Altogether, we were about 12,000 people." It sounds almost as if Zindel Grynszpan had the arrivals lined up and counted off.

Dr. Best's report also spoke of 12,000, but those 12,000 Jews came in several consignments and were sluiced through the Polish frontier at different times and at different places. Someone told Mr. Grynszpan—or maybe he read—something about "12,000" and lo! there they are, in his mind's eye, assembled at the Polish border and he, Zindel Grynszpan, in the midst of them. Poor old man! Here they had brought him to Jerusalem and induced him to make statements that he surely could not square with his conscience. The God of the Jews also expects that one tell the truth, in society in general, and especially in court.

Hannah Arendt, a Jewess, born in Berlin and professor of philosophy and sociology, covered the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem for the American weekly magazine, *The New Yorker,* but sees it differently. For her, not one of the other witnesses "neither before, nor afterwards ... could match the unassailable, unadorned truthfulness of this old man."[12] Which calls for wonderment about the nature and quality of the statements of the other witnesses. We have learned the hard way, in recent decades, that the concept "truthfulness" does not always have anything to do with the "truth."

Father Grynszpan relates further how he fared at the border crossing:

> The Poles called a Polish general (!) and some officers. They examined our papers, and saw that we were Polish citizens, and that we had "special identification documents." They then decided to admit us. We were taken to a village of 6,000 inhabitants.

The "village" was Bentschen. "There I wrote a letter to France...to my son."

With that, we have come back to Herschel Grynszpan, the son. Let us see what happened now. First, the "establishment" version. (Here we refer to the following authors and works: Guenther Deschner, *Reinhard Heydrich;* Friedrich Grimm, *Politische Justiz;* Joe Heydecker and Johannes Leeb, *Bilanz der Tausend Jahre* [Balance Sheet of the Thousand Years]; Heinz Hoehne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf* [The Order of the Death's Head]; Erich Kern, *Adolf Hitler und das Dritte Reich;* Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung* [The Final Solution]; Curt Riess, *Joseph Goebbels;* Kurt Zentner, *Illustrierte Geschichte des Dritten Reichs* [Illustrated History of the Third Reich]. (For exact bibliographical data, see the Appendix.)

Because of "outrage" over the fate of his family, the 17-year old boy buys a revolver, takes it with him to the German Embassy in Paris on the morning of November 7, 1938, and shoots the Third Secretary of the Embassy, Ernst vom Rath. Seriously wounded, vom Rath is taken to a hospital and is operated on, but succumbs to his wounds, dying on the afternoon of November 9, 1938.

The murderer Gruenspan (using the spelling of the German press) was immediately caught at the site by the French police and interrogated in Paris. Preparations for a judicial process were begun. On the French side, the inquiry was pursued on several levels: by the police, by the investigating magistrate, and lastly by the doctors (because of Grynszpan's youth). Further inquiries were instituted by the German authorities. The French investigating magistrate asked the Germans for data on Grynszpan's background and family (he came from Hanover), as well as on the occurrences that had led to his family's expulsion. All these procedures were recorded in writing. It could be thought, therefore, that it would be an easy matter for historians to present accurately the murderer's personality, and his deed. How little interest the truth holds for our "contemporary historians" is brought out by this point alone: Their portrayals of Grynszpan, his family and how the crime was committed differ from and contradict each other—by coincidence or on purpose?. This is what we are told:

> Name of the murderer: Herschel Feibel Grynszpan
> Age: 17

So far, all accounts are in agreement. But then it starts. His father was a "master tailor" (Hoehne and Deschner).[13] No, not at all, he was a "bootmaker", relates Zentner;[14] a "cobbler," explain Heydecker & Leeb, who also contribute "Sendel" as the father's first name.[15] The Paris court records give the father's occupation as "raccomodeur" (mender).[16] After the 1914-18 war,

he and his three brothers—also menders of clothing—came from Poland to Germany and settled in Hanover. Hannah Arendt—apparently unacquainted with the Paris court records—protests: "He came to Germany as early as 1911, and was not a clothes mender, but owner of a grocery store."

His brothers went on to Essen, Brussels, and Paris. In Germany, the family fared passably. The father was out of work for a while, but received welfare from the state—and this was after 1933!—totaling several thousand Reichsmark.

Herschel was not a good student. Hannah Arendt says of him that he was a "psychopath—incapable of finishing school."[17] Not only were his school reports bad—all of which are in the Paris court records—but his performance at Hebrew school was also unsatisfactory. According to Kern,[18] he attended rabbinical school in Frankfurt/Main, but with his poor school record, that is unlikely; Kern reports also that Herschel Grynszpan left Germany when he was fifteen. He went first to his various relatives in Essen, then to Brussels, and finally to his uncle in Paris. Here he soon fell in with bad company, was picked up in a police raid, and on August 15, 1938 was ordered expelled from France. He did not leave the country—his uncle had forbidden him use of his home—but went underground. He stayed on illegally without a residence permit, taking a room in a small Paris hotel in the Boulevard de Strasbourg, one street away from his uncle's residence.

How did he manage to live on without means? Who paid his room, his meals, his maintenance? What did he do all day?

Then one day, he received word that his parents had been expelled from Hanover and taken to Poland. How did he get this news? By postcard from his father in Poland (Heydecker & Leeb); no, it was a card from his sister, says Grimm. We recall that father Grynszpan himself declared he wrote a letter, not a postcard—but that was twenty-three years later. Well, whether postcard or letter, the Paris post office must have employed clairvoyants; Herschel was nowhere listed, and lived underground. But his mail was delivered nonetheless? In any case, the card reached him on November 3rd (says Kern); Heydecker and Leeb appear even to have read it, "in moving words, he (the father) related what had happened."[19]

So, on November 3, 1938, Herschel Grynszpan was in Paris, without money and without papers. He reads the postcard with its moving words and begins to brood. He broods for four days. On the morning of the fifth day—it is now November 7th—he knows what he must do. He gets up early, leaves his hiding place, walks one block to the Rue Faubourg Saint-Martin, goes into an arms shop (according to Heydecker & Leeb)—Graml can fill us in further: its name is Carpe;[20] and for 250 francs buys himself a revolver. Quite an accomplishment for a young man who had no money and no identification, n'est-ce pas? Why did he want a revolver? Did he know how to fire one? Where did he learn? In 1938, such a skill on the part of a psychopathic young son of a clothes mender was not taken for granted. Was it really a revolver?

Yes, certainly, a cylinder-revolver, affirmed Zentner, Heydecker & Leeb; but Hoehne and Deschner are not so sure, they speak of a "pistol." In either case, bought from an "arms dealer"? No, he bought it in a junkshop! (Erich Kern).

It was then 7:30 in the morning. Pocketing his weapon, Herschel Grynszpan continues walking to the German Embassy in the Rue de Lille, barely an hour's walk. He gets there at 8:30 a. m. (Kern finds that too early, and has Grynszpan arrive at 9:40.) It is shortly before office hours. The German Ambassador, Count Welczek, was just leaving the grounds for his morning walk, as Grimm says Welczek told him;—but Heydecker contradicts that—he was coming back from his walk.) In either case, Count Welczek was in the courtyard when Grynszpan entered. It was he whom Grynszpan asked to be directed to the German ambassador and who, thinking Grynszpan was on some routine business, sent him to the bureau chief, Nagorka. This little interlude escaped Graml, from whom, as was remarked earlier, we have the only detailed account of the Kristallnacht; he is of the opinion that Grynszpan asked the clerk for "one of the legation secretaries."[21] Nagorka took Grynszpan to Legation Secretary vom Rath. At this early hour, he is the only one present, and is responsible for the reception of unannounced visitors.

A *murder* is committed! Every crime fiction writer knows how to construct the setting for such a deed. It must be logical and precise, the details must fit. Who is murdered? Where and when? How? Unfortunately, our "contemporary historians" do not feel themselves bound neither by this literary convention—nor by the truth. Did any of them undertake any research to ascertain the facts? Each pretended to know something—whether it made sense, or not, was secondary. Grynszpan is taken to vom Rath, draws his pistol, fires at him. Just like that? No, not that simply. That would not be impressive. First he sounds off in solemn tones, "I am a Jew, and have come to avenge the Jewish people!" Only then does he draw his weapon and shoot down vom Rath. Was that the way it was? Only Erich Kern heard those words; they have remained hidden from the rest of the world. The Paris police records do not mention them, or any exchange of words. (We shall see, farther on, that Kern probably took them from David Frankfurter, who pronounced them when he shot and killed Wilhelm Gustloff.) Where did Grynszpan shoot vom Rath? Why, in his office, where he had been taken (Graml, Grimm, Kern). No, in front of the door to the office (Heydecker & Leeb). Not so, it was on the embassy staircase (according to Reitlinger and Zentner). How many shots were fired? Two. No, four. No, neither, it was five.[22] According to the medical record, vom Rath was hit by two bullets.

The police record shows Grynszpan's murder motive to have been the wrong done his parents in Germany. At least, that was the heroic declaration he made at his initial questioning. Later, step by step, he withdrew from this line; it was an accident, the automatic pistol went off by itself; he wanted to kill only himself; he no longer knew just how it happened; he couldn't remember at all, as he had acted under hallucination. A scene that had

already been enacted at the David Frankfurter trial—that we shall be taking up in due course—followed almost verbatim.

Hannah Arendt, too, puts no credence in the revenge motive. "The motive for Grynszpan's deed never has been fully cleared up. His brother, whom the prosecution called in the Eichmann trial, was remarkably reticent in this regard."[23] In her opinion, revenge as a motive is "most improbable." It was rather more likely that he was used as an "unknowing tool" of a group still not identified.

A most intriguing conjecture, that, by Mme. Professor Arendt. We shall come back to it.

Our contemporary historians, too, though somewhat unsure of themselves, are plowing in this furrow. Did Goebbels, the National Socialist arch villain, have his hand in the game and, through his provocateurs, incite Grynszpan to the murder? After all, such a surmise is not so farfetched. Graml picks it up from Riess,[24] attesting to it in all its aspects, but then must concede, almost reluctantly, that "there is no evidence for this version."[25]

When a young man, who had gotten on the wrong track, shoots another man, that could be for a variety of reasons. Maybe the two had a homosexual relationship. Zentner weighs this cautiously. Maser[26] enthuses: That is it! Completely clear. Grynszpan actually had been penalized earlier on such a charge in France—a fact that, astonishingly, remained concealed from the French authorities during their investigations. (Most of the victims of Maser's pen must endure helplessly his prurient rooting among the intimacies of their lives, since they are no longer living. What formerly was to be expected only from mass-media reporters, has become the professional style of "contemporary historians.") But perhaps we shouldn't be unduly harsh with Professor Maser, he is not alone in defaming a murdered German diplomat. Years later, in an interrogation, Grynszpan himself stated something similar, but it could be refuted immediately as a lie that had been talked into him; he then retracted the assertion.

We approach the end of the first part of the "Grynszpan Case." It was handled with great care and professionalism by the French authorities.

The preliminary investigation in Paris was concluded in August 1939. The investigating magistrate conducted a final interrogation of the accused, and issued a final report. With that, through the state's attorney's office, the record was to be put before the administrative penal chamber in Paris, which had to decide on the opening of the principal proceedings. It was assumed that the principal proceedings before the superior court in Paris would take place in September or October 1939. By that time, war had broken out; the trial was not held.[27]

In 1940, after the defeat of France, the Paris police gave Grynszpan over to the German authorities; he was taken to Berlin. The Reich Ministry of Justice held the view that it was permissible to try Grynszpan in Germany since the deed was perpetrated in an extraterritorial enclave, in the German

embassy against one of the embassy staff. The French government made no objection to Grynszpan's trial in Germany. The French investigating magistrate, and all French witnesses were to be invited to Berlin.

> Grynszpan, after he had been brought to Berlin, was interrogated twice by the Berlin police. In the first questioning, he withdrew, surprisingly, all the statements he had made until then. He now pretended that he had killed vom Rath not from political motives, but for a personal reason. Obviously, someone had told him to say that in case he fell into the hands of the Germans. The statement was patently false, and easily exploded. He retracted it immediately in his second interrogation.[28]

A German trial never was held. Why, remains unknown. Even Professor Dr. Friedrich Grimm, who as attorney for the relatives of vom Rath had been at the preliminary investigation in Paris, and was to have come to Berlin, did not learn the reason.

Our purveyors of contemporary history show themselves to be all the better informed. Grynszpan, "naturally," was "killed without a trial" by the Germans.[29] The "Bundeszentrale fuer Politische Bildung" (Federal Center for Political Education) also teaches the German citizenry accordingly. A pamphlet put out on the fortieth anniversary of the *Kristallnacht* asserts simply and plainly: "When he (Grynszpan) fell into the hands of the National Socialists upon the German occupation of France in 1940, he was killed without legal process." (Of course, what is one more or less among 6,000,000?) "The Jew was murdered," is easily said, and easily repeated, it needs no proof, it is a "generally known historical fact."

But neither Grynszpan's family, nor Herschel were murdered. The Grynszpan family found provisional shelter in Bentschen (Poland). Jewish organizations, above all the American Joint Distribution Committee, helped them, and made possible their emigration to Palestine. Herschel also survived the war, probably in a German prison. With the defeat of Germany, he was free. Under a new name, with fabricated documentation, he went back to Paris.[31] He did well to take another name. He was a murderer who—even after 1945—had to reckon with a trial. But he went to Paris where, presumably, he still had very good connections.

Now we come to the point that had occupied the investigating officials in Paris as far back as 1938: With whom in Paris was Herschel Grynszpan connected? Who, when he had been ordered expelled by the police, and had to leave his uncle's house, provided for his maintenance? Who paid his hotel? Who gave him the money to buy a revolver? Where did he get the idea of murdering a German official? The police investigation showed that his uncle, Abraham Grynszpan, with whom he had lived in the Rue Martel, had nothing to do with any of this.

It was clear that he would have had to come into contact with certain circles who talked him into murdering a German official, since the authorities had as little faith in the revenge story then as did Hannah Arendt later.

There were ample grounds to suspect a connection with a certain Jewish organization, but conclusive evidence could not be found. Since, in a state governed by law, "generally known facts" are not evidence, and Herschel Grynszpan maintained an iron silence, the French prosecuting authorities with heavy hearts gave up the charge of "instigation" and let stand the plea of "personal revenge" as the alleged motive.

However, there is nothing to keep us from looking at the reasons to suspect "instigation."

One reason is that Grynszpan, who had not lived with his uncle since August 15, 1938, rented a room in a small hotel on the Boulevard de Strasbourg, as already observed. Nevertheless, the relationship with his uncle was not broken off; Herschel visited him almost daily. That required no effort. The home of his uncle in the Rue Martel was just a cross-street away from the Boulevard de Strasbourg. On the way between his uncle's and the hotel, Herschel would go by an old Parisian apartment house, which had nothing about it that would attract attention. Except, perhaps, for a small sign, not easily legible, on the right, next to the entrance door. Its inscription read: LICA.

Another reason for suspicion was that immediately after Grynszpan's arrest, a Paris attorney appeared at the police station and announced he was assuming Grynszpan's defense. His name was Vincent de Moro-Giafferi.

We shall meet them both, LICA and Giafferi, again soon. However, to understand better the ramifications, the interconnections, we must move backward a bit in time, to refresh our memories about certain events that occurred between 1933 and 1938.

CHAPTER II

The Jewish "Declaration of War"

March 24, 1933

Hardly had President von Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of the German Reich, when loud lamentations, principally in Jewish circles, went up abroad. The first uproar of international scope arose on 24 March 1933 with the proclamation, in a huge headline on the front page of the London *Daily Express:* "Judea Declares War on Germany!" Here are some passages from the "declaration of war" that, as an appeal for a boycott, called for economic warfare against Germany.

> Jews of all the world unite. Boycott of German goods. Mass demonstrations.
>
> A strange and unforseen sequel has emerged from the stories of German Jew-baiting. The whole of Israel throughout the world is uniting in declaring an economic and financial war on German. Hitherto the cry has gone up: "Germany is persecuting the Jews." If the present plans are carried out, the Hitlerite cry will be: "The Jews are persecuting Germany."
>
> All Israel is rising in wrath against the Nazi onslaught on the Jews. Adolf Hitler, swept into power by an appeal to elemental patriotism, is making history of a kind he least expected. Thinking to unite only the German nation to race consciousness, he has roused the whole Jewish people to a national renascence.
>
> The appearance of the Swastika symbol of a new Germany has called forth the Lion of Judah, the old battle emblem of Jewish defiance. Fourteen million Jews, dispersed throughout the world, have banded together as one man to declare war on the German persecutors of their co-religionists.. Sectional differences and antagonisms have been submerged in one common aim — to stand by the 600,000 Jews of Germany who are terrorized by Hitlerite anti-Semitism, and to compel Fascist Germany to end its campaign of violence and suppression against its Jewish minority.
>
> Plans for action maturing in Europe and America. World Jewry has made up its mind not to rest quiescent in face of this revival of medieval Jew-baiting. Germany may be called on to pay a heavy price for Hitler's antagonism to the Jews. She is faced with an international boycott, in commerce, finance, and industry. (...)
>
> Plans for concerted Jewish action are being matured in Europe and America to strike back in reprisal at Hitlerite Germany. (...) Resolutions are being taken throughout the Jewish business world to sever trade relations with Germany. (...)
>
> Germany is a heavy borrower in foreign money markets, where Jewish influence is considerable. (...) A move is on foot on the part of Jewish financiers to exert pressure to force anti-Jewish action to stop. (...)
>
> A concerted boycott by Jewish buyers is likely to involve great damage to the German export trade. Jewish merchants all over the world are large buyers of German manufactured goods, (...) In Poland, the trade embargo of Germany is already in operation. (...)

> Representative Jewish organizations in the European capitals are understood to be making representations to their various Governments to use influence with the Hitler cabinet to induce it to call a halt in the oppression of the German Jews. The old and reunited people of Israel are rising with new and modern weapons to fight their age-old battle with their persecutors.

This Jewish "declaration of war" needs precise analysis. As far as I know, that has not yet been undertaken by anyone. Its text is simply repeated, verbatim; there is no interpretation or commentary.

I shall present a few sentences from this declaration that provide a key to an understanding of what took place thereafter—and, essentially, is going on still.

> The whole of Israel throughout the world is uniting to declare an economic and financial war on Germany... Fourteen million Jews have banded together as one man... Sectional differences and antagonisms have been submerged in one common aim...

It is a characteristic of the Jewish people that has provoked much comment, in Israel and elsewhere, that, faced by a common threat, they really do come together and rise as one man, overcoming all internal differences, and presenting a united front to the outside. Before the State of Israel was founded, it was the ghetto-enclosure, sealed against the exterior world, that represented this unity. Hardly ever did a non-Jew have an insight into what went on behind the ghetto walls. The Jews themselves saw to it that there was no contact with the world outside. The Christian world beyond was "the enemy," a hostile environment. Just to have contact—not to mention, integrate—with it was a damnable crime for any Jew. Not only marriage to a non-Jew was—and still is!—forbidden (and, to a pious Jew, unthinkable, as well), merely living among Christians, or in secular surroundings, even study at a "worldly" university, meets with deepest suspicion in devout Jewish circles, and is often regarded as a first sign of defection from Jewry. Those values hold good today. I knew a rabbi, in a large German city, an extraordinarily charming person, who told me much about the difficulties made for him by his rabbinical colleagues because he had studied the humanities, and even lectured, at a "Christian" university, one of the most famous in Germany. Despite his completion of Talmudic studies in Jewish colleges in Israel, where he had sought to gain a foothold after the war, he was refused recognition as a rabbi—and that only because of his incidental engagement with "worldly" universities. He then returned to Germany, where he had an inordinately troublesome time with his congregation, which consisted mainly of Polish Jews, who set their own norms. A rabbi who acknowledged the existence of the Christian world, and even had contact, however sparse, with Christian theologians, could not be a real rabbi! This cohesion against the outside misleads many, who do not know the essence of Jewishness, or of the Jew, to the assumption that it is a matter of inner unity, in brief—to use the popular expression—"A Jew is a Jew!" The generalizing Jewish legisla-

tion of the Third Reich was based on this misconception; it was the root cause of the countless tragedies that were acted out in the Jewish communities.

There is a saying in Israel that when three Jews come together, there are four different opinions. A vocal example thereof is the number of political parties admitted to the Israeli parliament.

In 1948, when the state was founded, Israel had 656,000 inhabitants, according to official documentation. These 656,000 people separated themselves into ten political parties. In the course of years, the groupings split, joined with others, separated again, came together once more, and so on, so that, twenty years later, without political directions having changed in the slightest, there were eighteen political parties in Israel.

The Israelis are proud of being "individuals," as they put it, and about having their own opinions about anything and everything. I have experienced that personally in discussions too numerous to be counted; discussions that degenerated into scuffles and brawls, and in one case provoked a murder that for Europeans would have been unthinkable. But then again, there is an astonishing unity when it comes to standing up to an enemy, real or imagined. In time of war, it is true that "A Jew is a Jew," or that "all Jews are alike"; there is infrangible compactness in the face of the foe. The opponent, in his policy and in his conduct, does well to assume that he is confronted by all Jewry as though it were a single body.

In Jerusalem, there is the "Yad Vashem" memorial to the Jewish victims of National Socialism. Among the items in the exhibit halls is a showcase displaying a copy of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. It is opened at pages 330/331. In these pages, Hitler contemplates the unity of the Jews. When faced by danger, and upon their disunity when no outside factor drives them together:

> The Jew is united only when a common danger forces him to be, or when a common booty lures. When both motives are absent, the characteristics of crassest egotism take over, and, in an instant, the united people is turned into a mob fighting blindly among itself.

There are no guided tours, per se, at Yad Vashem. The idea is that, on viewing the photographs and objects on exhibit, everyone should develop his own thoughts. Nevertheless, on many occasions, I observed that this display, with Hitler's *Mein Kampf* opened at the passage quoted above, prompted discussion among the people viewing it. On each occasion, the consensus—a consensus maintained by Jews—was that in his characterization of the Jews, Hitler, unfortunately, was completely right.

Therefore, when the Jewish "declaration of war" states: all "differences and conflicts have been submerged in one common aim," it confirms not only the existence of conflicting interests within the community, but also unity in the fight against Germany. Thus, the "declaration of war" was, in truth, delivered on behalf of all of world Jewry. Assertions by Jews, after the war, to the effect that it "really wasn't meant that way," and, "of course, not all

Jews supported that pronouncement" run contrary to the Jewish mentality.

It is true that Jewish communities and associations in Germany manifested their solidarity with Germany after the "declaration of war"; we shall cite some of their public statements farther on. But they did not thereby distance themselves from the "declaration of war," but turned against the anti-German atrocity propaganda raging abroad,.

Let us note a further statement from the "declaration of war": "Germany may be called on to pay a heavy price for Hitler's antagonism to the Jews."

This prediction appears to be the central point about which all events in the political life of Germany, of Europe, and even of the world, have turned since 1933.

Under the pretext of "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews," the world was excited into war against Germany; because of "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews," Germany was destroyed; because of "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews," a policy of occupation that has just one purpose: the moral and spiritual destruction of its people, was put into effect in Germany. The only aspect of the twelve years of the Third Reich that is kept alive in the public consciousness is "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews." Uncountable demonstrations, memorials, remembrances, and so on and on, keep reminding us of the consequences of "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews." The one outstanding feature of the whole historical epoch of National Socialism was, it is affirmed, "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews."

Since March 24, 1933, "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" is the self-regenerative, inexhaustible motivation for all anti-German actions—and not alone for those. "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" justifies them in setting up a state in Palestine—a "rightful claim" that figures in their "declaration of war." "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" is the menacing specter on the horizon of every nation.

Those who declared war on "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" got their war, it cost 50,000,000 lives. To attempt to justify that toll, "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" has been hyped to a fantastic and impossible extent. No longer is world war, with the millions of fallen, expelled, deported and murdered, the catastrophe of the century—it is "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" and its alleged prey.

The year 1979 marked the fortieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war. Whoever is acquainted with the destructive tumult a "re-education"-obsessed media can drum up in Germany on every historic occasion, expected a large number of anti-German demonstrations. They failed to occur, or stayed within bounds. A year earlier, November 1978, was the fortieth anniversary of the *Kristallnacht.* For weeks, public demonstrations were held, one upon the heels of another, more than two thousand of them; church services, seminars, film presentations, a flood of books and pamphlets, reawakened recollection of the occurrences of that time. Regardless of historical facts, the president of the Federal Republic, the Federal Chancel-

lor, the chairmen of all political parties, the presidents of all Jewish organizations, all, all of them, gave speeches, observed "minutes-of-silence," put on "festive hours" (I don't know what there was to be "festive" about). In short, every child in Germany got the message: It was then that the "annihilation of the Jews" began!

A shocking statistical presentation I once read showed that so much injustice—official injustice—is done each day throughout the world that if it were to be distributed over the twenty-four hours, not a second would pass but a human being would have to suffer. But woe!, if this one human being were a Jew! At once, the ghost "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" would be conjured up, cries of "Auschwitz!" and "Holocaust!" would resound. The world has been conditioned to believe that "anti-Semitism" is the prime evil, and "antagonism to the Jews," the worst crime. The world has been taught to accept that it is only the suffering and injustices experienced by Jews which is worth noting—and rehashing in perpetuity.

The Jews are about 0.3% of the world's population (1980). However, they demand that world history revolve around their fate.

The Jewish "declaration of war" of March 24, 1933 "documented" "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews" with a "Catalogue of Guilt." It bore no relation to what actually was happening in Germany. The unabridged text of the "declaration of war" contains the following accusations:

> German Jew-baiting....Germany is persecuting the Jews....Nazi onslaught on the Jews....German persecutors of their co-religionists...Jews of Germany who are terrorized by Hitlerite anti-Semitism... campaign of violence and suppression directed against the Jewish minority... revival of medieval Jew-baiting....Nazi tactics... anti-Semitism in Germany... attacks on their German fellow-Jews... anti-Jewish excesses in Germany... Hitler-terror... the plight of Jews in Germany... oppression of the German Jews.

It must have been horrible in 1933—it makes one's hair stand on end! But what was going on there, really? A few isolated transgressions by wild anti-Semites. On the part of the government, nothing. The laws that were to exclude Jews from crucial positions in Germany had not even been enacted, but the Jews already were charging Germany with "crimes" that had not been committed. Was that merely hysteria? Or was there a purpose behind it? Was the myth of the "6,000,000" that was to be put forth later as a moral justification for the destruction of the German people, already in gestation?

This Jewry, that on March 24, 1933 proclaimed to the peoples of the world a merciless struggle against Germany, and threatened it with other destruction, this World Jewry nevertheless had the *chutzpah* (effrontery, gall) to protest that, after its "declaration of war," the intended victim should act to protect itself by removing Jews—who, after all, had declared themselves to be enemies of National Socialist Germany—from sensitive positions. Another intriguing statement in the Jewish "declaration of war": "In Europe and America plans for a counterblow against Hitlerian Germany have matured."

That was not empty rhetoric. We know today, from numerous historically irrefutable publications, that preparations for war against Germany were begun in the first years of the National Socialist regime.

The will to war against Germany, the resolve to destroy Germany—always on the pretext of "Hitler's antagonism to the Jews"—was a matter of course, a foregone conclusion for the Jews, who stressed it on every possible occasion, among themselves and in public.

As far back as January 1933, a leading Australian Jew told a German admiral:

> Sir, have you heard that as a result of the outcome of the last Reichstag (parliamentary) elections, President von Hindenburg has entrusted the position of Reich Chancellor to the National Socialist Hitler? Sir, I give you my word, think of it later, we Jews will do everything to expunge that deed from the record![31]

In July 1933, four months after the Jewish proclamation of war in the London *Daily Express*, Samuel Untermeyer, a Jewish lawyer from New York founded the "International Jewish Economic Federation to Combat the Hitlerite Oppression of Jews" in Amsterdam. A month later, in August 1933, Untermeyer returned to New York. At his reception, he gave a talk, published in the *New York Times*, in which he emphasized once again the state of war in which World Jewry stood against Germany:

> I deeply appreciate your enthusiastic greeting on my arrival today, which I quite understand is addressed not to me personally but to the holy war in the cause of humanity in which we are now embarked (...) It is a war that must be waged unremittingly until the black clouds of bigotry, race hatred and fanaticism that have descended upon what was once Germany, but is now medieval Hitlerland, have been dispersed. (...) If we once admit, as is brazenly insisted by the German Government, that such fiendish persecution of the people of one race or creed is an internal domestic affair and not a world concern, how are we to know whose turn will be next?
>
> Now or never must all the nations of the earth make common cause against the monstrous claim that the slaughter, starvation and annihilation, by a country that has reverted to barbarism, of its own innocent and defenseless citizens without rhyme, reason or excuse is an internal affair against which the rest of the world must stand idly by and not lift a hand in defense. (...)
>
> When the tale is told, as it will be some day (...) the world will confront a picture so fearful in its barbarous cruelty that the hell of war (...) will pale into insignificance as compared to this devilishly, deliberately, cold-bloodedly planned and already partially executed campaign for the extermination of a (...) people (...)
>
> In conclusion, permit me (...) to assure you that, with your support and that of our millions of non-Jewish friends, we will drive the last nail in the coffin of bigotry and fanaticism that has dared raise its ugly head to slander, belie and disgrace twentieth century civiliation.[32]

Here, again, are the monstrous accusations:..."fiendish persecution... slaughter...starvation... annihilation...devilishly, deliberately, cold-bloodedly planned extermination." The assertions become ever more menacing, and

gradually assume a posture very familiar to us today. Untermeyer does not base his charges on any identified occurrences, but smears the German government with blanket accusations about "brazenly" arrogating to itself the right to inflict barbarities on its Jews. The rise of National Socialism—that concerned only the Germans themselves—was branded as "bigotry" and "fanaticism." The desire of the German people to live as they wished in their own country was denied them.

Not only the Jewish people, the whole world ("millions of our non-Jewish friends throughout the world") are called upon to take part in this "holy war" against Germany, and to help put the "last nail into the coffin" in which the German people are to be buried.

Untermeyer's address holds a sentence that makes clear what it was that inflamed World Jewry to such rage. After the ill-omened peace "Diktat" of Versailles, the world had grown accustomed no longer to regard Germany as a sovereign state. For fourteen years, Germany had been the playground of international smugglers and other racketeers, a land that was for sale, open to exploitation by any swindler who came along. A criminal upper crust, with widespread international family relationships danced on the bodies of the hungering German people, celebrated orgies, spent lavishly the money extracted by fraudulent manipulations from the impoverished people. The German people had to bow and stay silent.

That millions of Germans nevertheless dared to rise up against that, and to chase the parasites out of the country—that was the real German crime. "After they dared — to raise their head," said Samuel Untermeyer. He outdoes himself in reviling the rise of the new Germany and in defaming it in the eyes of the world.

In Germany, indignation at the hypocritical behavior of World Jewry was at its highest among the German Jews. They did not delay in contradicting the empty charges, and in stating that the issue lay in political and economic interests.

Before we call on the Jews themselves to testify as to how mendacious this whole hate-propaganda was, here are a few last references from the "declaration of war" of 24 March 1933:

> The old and reunited people of Israel are rising up with new and modern weapons to fight their age-old battle with their persecutors.

What was meant by "new and modern weapons" is revealed right away: pressure by the worldwide Jewish money power:

> Jewish financiers will exert pressure.

and the exertion of influence by Jewish organizations on the governments of individual countries.

> Representative Jewish organizations in the European capitals are understood to be making representations to their various governments .

It should be borne in mind that the Jewish organizations in the European

capitals represented tiny minorities of the populations of the individual countries. And yet, those minorities presumed to press demand on the governments—a deportment that makes a farce of every democratic constitution. Failure to go along incurred threats of pressure by Jewish monetary forces.

CHAPTER III

Statements of the German-Jewish Communities

As was mentioned earlier, after the "declaration of war" of March 24, 1933, the Jewish communities in Germany deemed it necessary to protest, publicly, to the world against the totally fabricated stories and unwarranted accusations of "persecution of Jews" in Germany.

They do not deny the occurrence of isolated single incidents in which a Jew was molested by a passerby on a public thoroughfare or anti-Jewish graffiti was written on the walls of a Jewish business establishment. How important were these rare occurrences in a population of seventy million people? Among so many, there always are some, who, for whatever reason, have antipathy against Jews. That is fundamentally different from a state-directed, or fomented, persecution. That the Jews living in Germany had this sensible and objective attitude, is shown by the citations that follow. They reveal—for the last time in a long while—the countenance of a Jewish presence that once had felt at home in Germany, for whom the honor and the esteem of their German homeland was a matter of importance of their lives.

On Friday, March 24th, 1933, the day the Jewish "declaration of war" was published in the London *Daily Express*, Dr. Loewenstein, Chairman of the "Reich League of Jewish Front-line Soldiers," addressed the following letter to the United States Embassy in Berlin:

> We have been informed of the publicity being given in your country to alleged atrocities against Jews in Germany. We deem it our duty, as a matter of patriotism and in the interest of truth to state our position on this propaganda.
>
> Mistreatments and transgressions have occurred, and we, especially, are far from wanting to minimize them. But such excesses are understandable in every revolution. We think it important to establish that in all cases known to us the authorities intervened energetically whenever it was possible for them to do so. In all instances, the excesses were committed by irresponsible elements that remained concealed. We know that the government, and all authorities, most sharply condemn this violence.
>
> In our opinion, it is time to desist from the irresponsible campaign of hatred being mounted abroad by Jewish so-called intellectuals against Germany. These men, most of whom never considered themselves to be German, who, at a critical time, abandoned their co-religionists for whom they pretend to be the foremost fighters, and fled abroad, have forfeited the right to a voice in German-Jewish affairs. The arrows they loose from safe refuges, harm Germany and German Jews, but do no honor to the archers. Their reports reek of exaggeration.
>
> We would be very grateful to the Embassy of the United States if it would immediately cable our letter, which we are conveying to the embassy in full

awareness of our responsibility for the statements therein, to America. The undersigned League is ready to assume the costs.

Since we know that an elaborate propaganda manifestation on the above theme is to be held against Germany on Monday (March 27, 1933), we would appreciate it if our letter were made known to the American public by that time.

—Reich League of Jewish Front-line Soldiers[33]

A communique to the Front-line Soldiers of the World, issued the same day, reads:

The atrocity propaganda lies. Political and economic interests are pulling the strings. The Jewish literati who permit themselves to be used for this once jeered at us Jewish front-line soldiers. You, our comrades can contribute most effectively to calming emotions in Germany if you, as honorable soldiers, raise your voices against the unchivalrous and defamatory treatment of Germany that has been going on for fourteen years.

On March 26th, 1933, the Zionist Organization for Germany sent the following telegram to leading Jews in America:

In a declaration disseminated March 17, 1933 by the Jewish Telegraphic Union to the entire Jewish world press, we set forth, with great determination, our opposition to any anti-German propaganda. We objected to the untruthful atrocity reports, and to the unconscionably sensationalized accounts. Today, we repeat our protest publicly. We object to every attempt to make the Jewish cause subservient to the interests of other states or groups. Defense of the civil rights of Jews and the preservation of their economic position cannot and must not be tied to political actions against Germany or against the international political standing of the German Reich.[34]

On March 28, 1933, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, at that time still Jewish-edited wrote:

Deeply shocked, our whole people observe the new hate campaign against us that has been raging abroad over the last few weeks. It is sustained by the most manifold motives, not only simple ideological ones, but also by the grossest self-interest, in trying to make Germany appear contemptible...

In opposing the senseless reports that some of the world press still publishes, unfortunately, on a daily basis, we must declare emphatically that there can be no talk of pogroms or of anti-Jewish excesses in Germany. Whoever, on the outside, says otherwise, lies, or is an ignorant tool of dark powers.

Firstly, the new hate propaganda is employed by a foreign economic element that has always fought German exports. It believes it has now found a convenient means which, with some popular trimming or other, will enable it to pursue its self-serving ends.

Secondly, as we have already pointed out, the atrocity propaganda is the last hope of the anti-Revisionists in Europe. There is still an indiscriminate hunt for means by which to thwart the dawning restoration of Europe to health, and it is precisely the irreconcilable foes of a just integration of Germany into post-war Europe who make use of the new hate-propaganda for purposes that have nothing at all to do with the ostensible aims of this propaganda, which is directed against Germany itself.

On March 30, 1933, the *Central Verein Zeitung of Berlin*, the newspaper of the Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, printed the

following editorial:

> We 565,000 German Jews lodge solemn protest. An unbridled atrocity-propaganda campaign against Germany is raging about the world. By every word that is spoken or written against our Fatherland, by every call for an anti-German boycott, we German Jews are wounded just as deeply as is every other German.
>
> Not under duress nor out of fear, but because certain foreign elements are slandering the honor of the German name, harming the land of our fathers and the land of our children, we have risen at once to protest that, before the country and before the outside world, we have branded the reports about Germany and the new German government is lies ...Against these monstrous accusations, we 565,000 German Jews protest solemnly before all Germany and before the world.

The next day, March 31, 1933, Dr. Max Naumann, Honorary Chairman of the Association of National German Jews, declared in the *Neues Wiener-Journal of Vienna*:

> I need not first tell you that I oppose absolutely the atrocity campaign against Germany. I see in this campaign nothing but a new edition of the war time hate campaign against Germany and its former allies. Even the methods and the details are exactly the same as at that time, when the stories were of children's hands hacked off, eyes put out, even of the rendering of cadavers, obtaining fatty substances from human corpses. The assertions made about piles of mutilated Jewish corpses lying in front of cemetery walls, that no Jew dare show himself in the street without fear of being assaulted, fit that pattern perfectly.
>
> Transgressions have taken place, but in a completely isolated manner. Without any doubt these are to be ascribed to exceptional acts by a type of individual who is to be found among every people and in every organization, who take advantage of an opportunity to satisfy, in their own way, the personal desire for revenge they may harbor against individual Jewish persons with whom, for whatever reason, they may have had differences. The leading authorities of the NSDAP, and the entire government of the Reich, have declared, constantly, and with the greatest energy, that in any such case that comes to their knowledge they would intervene ruthlessly. It is also known to me that in such cases the intervention really was ruthless. At all events, we German Jews, regardless of any differences of emotional inclination, are thoroughly convinced that the government, and the leadership of the NSDAP, are earnestly resolved to maintain calm and order.
>
> We have therefore been protesting this foreign atrocity propaganda very energetically for quite some time, not, as I wish explicitly to emphasize, because of being under any kind of compulsion, but because we were convinced that our Germany is being hurt, and is intended to be hurt badly, by this hate-campaign. That reaction, I want to make very clear, is only second nature to us. Furthermore, incidentally, the hate-campaign being waged allegedly in our interest is doing an extraordinarily bad service to the Jews living in Germany.

Once more, the *Berliner Tageblatt* of April 1, 1933:

> A horrendous wave of filth surges around Germany. The beneficiaries of the Versailles Diktat, who unwillingly had begun to acknowledge the collapse of their policy of force against Germany, draw new hope. In reply to the manifest

> will to freedom of the German people, they unleashed an atrocity propaganda campaign that lags only slightly behind their lying stories during the last war...
>
> It cannot be denied that German Jews with well-known names also have a leading part in that atrocity hate campaign ... which in an irresponsible manner defames the German people.

We can cite here only excerpts from the pronouncements made on the Jewish side in those days. The attitude of the Jews living in Germany at that time was extremely ambivalent. Two principal trends crystallized slowly among the diverse Jewish associations: Zionists and German Jews. While the Zionists poured gasoline on the fire, so to speak, and exaggerated every anti-Semitic remark to support their thesis that a Jew's place is in Palestine, the German Jews were for staying on in Germany, which they felt to be their homeland, even if, for the time being, that might entail disadvantage to individual Jews. These "German Jews" were abandoned shamefully by their co-religionists inside and outside of Germany. They were even branded as traitors and collaborators.

The Jewish "declaration of war," the anti-German atrocity campaign, the boycott movement, all that, naturally, was known to the German government. It reacted with composure, not least because it had its hands full coping with the legacy bequeathed by its predecessors.

Still, on Saturday, April 1, 1933, in answer to the hate campaign started against Germany by the Jewish side, there was a half-day boycott of Jewish shops in Germany. This rather sorry little business often is given first place in representations of "The Destruction of the Jewish People in Nazi Germany." It caused practically no damage; in fact, it was welcomed by the pious Jews, to whom the Sabbath activities of their co-religionists had always been a thorn in their flesh. According to Judaic law, absolutely no work may be done, and no business transacted, on a Saturday.

At it turned out, the "Nuremberg Laws," at least the provisions that barred marriages between Jews and Germans were regarded with the same sentiment by devout Jews. Joel Koenig, in his autobiography *Den Netzen Entronnen* (Escaped From the Nets), writes of his father, a rabbi:

> For him the Jewish Laws of the Third Reich corresponded exactly to those of the Torah, that were often contravened by the German Jews. The Jews did business on the Sabbath; in consequence, the Jewish shops were boycotted on the Sabbath. They intermarried with those of other faiths; therefore, the Nuremberg Laws were enacted.[35]

Unmindful of the appeals of German-Jewish organizations to their co-religionists abroad, the anti-German hate-campaign went on, and the boycott movement spread.

CHAPTER IV

Anti-German Agitation Centers In Paris

One of the most assiduous hate agitators of those years was Vladimir Jabotinsky, leader of the Zionist Revisionist Party. He was born in Odessa in 1880, and spent his youth in Russia and in Italy. He discovered his Jewish political mission in 1905, and from then on, until his death in 1940, dedicated his life to the struggle for the Jewish people. What induced his fatal hatred for Germany remains a mystery to all his biographers. During his childhood, he lived for a short time in Berlin, where he went to a kindergarten and picked up his first scraps of German. A biographer writes:

> From this far-off segment of his childhood, he had gained nothing but a hatred of the German language, and a vague recollection of meeting the Kaiser on the street in Bad Ems.[36]

It was not only the German language (among seven others he eventually learned to speak fluently) that he hated. As leader of the Revisionist Party which broke away from the general Zionist Party on April 25, 1925 to pursue a more hard-line course, Jabotinsky visited Germany, in particular Berlin, a number of times to give lectures and hold conferences. His last visit was in February 1933. His hatred of Germany, and of everything German—and not only Hitler and the National Socialists—has found no psychological, or other explanation to this day. However, it existed, and played a very decisive role in the catastrophic development of German policy toward the Jews. Jabotinsky began his "Anti-Hitler Crusade" in grand style on April 28, 1933 with a speech over Radio Warsaw in which he called for a worldwide boycott of Germany. Sixty-nine mass demonstrations, in all larger towns of eastern Europe, followed in rapid succession. On August 25, 1933, at a press conference with over a hundred participants, he announced that his Revisionist party was the command center of the worldwide boycott of Germany. To his confidants he expressed regret that the "Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights" (a Samuel Untermeyer creation), with the far greater means at its disposal, was beating him out of the leadership spot in the hate campaign against Germany.

Finally, he offered Untermeyer his cooperation, on the condition that he, Jabotinsky, retain his function as the main leader. This proposal did not evoke much enthusiasm in America, especially as the top jobs were already held by "fellow fighters" living there. Therefore, Jabotinsky took over the "European Section" and set up his headquarters in Paris. Jabotinsky looked for allies among the broad masses of the people, the consumers. Lists of products of "acceptable" origin were in every household. He gave the names of the companies whose products were "acceptable" and published the

names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the shops in which those products were to be found. He demanded that the numerous "Boycott-Propaganda-Bureaus" he had set up put pressure on those who controlled commercial advertising to observe the boycott, so that any shop which dared to offer German goods could no longer advertise and was forced to join the boycott.

In the following months innumerable exhortations, meetings, newspaper articles, and speeches had as their sole purpose the inciting of world opinion against Germany and the "Hitler plague," to agitate the other peoples of the world into a war of annihilation against Germany. Jabotinsky passionately adjured his non-Jewish listeners:

> Pray, Sir, why "our boycott"? It is yours, it stands and falls with your attitude, not with ours. There are some Gentile nations who, should Germany win, would feel it down to the last man in the remotest hamlet.[37]

Not content with drafting the foreign Jewish communities into his "Anti-Hitler Crusade," he also stirred up the Jews in Germany against their Fatherland. He condemned as criminal even the least show of understanding for the National Socialist government. "If Hitler's regime is destined to stay, world Jewry is doomed." This hypothetical assumption was his justification for his whole anti-German activity. He went still farther: "The Jewish people finds itself face to face not with a party within the German people, but with the German nation as such."[38]

From the very first day, Jabotinsky called for a worldwide Jewish-German war. The fate of the Jewish congregations in Germany who, logically, would suffer most in such a war, was of minor importance as "they represent only a very small proportion of World Jewry."

Friends of Germany, or those who merely viewed it with a little good will, were Jabotinsky's personal arch-enemies, though they were of his own political orientation. When Adolf Hitler assumed governing powers, the Revisionist Party newspaper in Palestine, *Hazit Haam,* published pro-German articles, and showed full understanding for the "national popular movement for freedom," Jabotinsky went into a fury. He wrote the two publishers, Joshua Yeivin and Abba Achmeir, a vitriolic letter: "All this babbling is discrediting and paralyzing my work. (...) I demand that the paper join, unconditionally and absolutely, not merely our campaign against Hitler Germany, but also our hunting-down of Hitlerism, in the fullest sense of the term."[39]

The Jewish Zionist Youth Organization in Germany, Betar, that at first took part in loyalty demonstrations by Jewish groups and congregations, also was a recipient of a furious letter from Jabotinsky: "Any flirting with the [Nazi] Government or its representatives and ideas I would consider simply criminal. To adapt oneself to *Schweinerei* is *verboten,* and Hitlerism remains *Schweinerei* in spite of the enthusiasm of millions which impresses our youth so much (...)"[40] (Jabotinsky was alluding to the Judaic prohibition of eating pork.)

By innumerable circular letters, appeals, directives, and so on, transmitted through Zionist organizations in Germany, Jabotinsky adeptly stimulated feeling against the government, to awaken the German Jews to the "danger" in which they found themselves, and so gradually to put them into a state of panic that often induced counter-productive behavior.

But it was not only Jabotinsky. We already have spoken of Samuel Untermeyer, who was developing his ideas in New York and Amsterdam. A number of further Zionist groupings joined the anti-German hate-campaign.

In Paris, Jabotinsky met Monsieur Bernard Lecache, like him an Odessa-born Jew, who ran a political propaganda office. The two had worked together closely since the founding of the Zionist Revisionist Party's French section in 1925. At first, Lecache specialized in combatting anti-Semitism in Poland. To that end, he had contact for a while with the German secret service who, on occasion, supported him also financially. Suddenly, in January 1933, both the Revisionist Party and M. Lecache went on a strictly anti-German course. Lecache, who until then had financed his propagandistic pursuits with the help of private contributions, suddenly had enormous sums at his disposal. At the same time, he converted his propaganda center into the "Ligue International Centre l'Anti-Semitisme," LICA, for short.

Despite its generalized designation, LICA occupied itself exclusively with anti-German propaganda. The LICA seized upon every pretext to pillory the anti-Semitism allegedly reigning in the Third Reich. Any event that could be exploited to foment unrest there was welcomed.

The LICA staged its first big public spectacle after the burning of the Reichstag in Berlin on the night of the February 27th/28th, 1933. At the center of this propaganda enterprise stood a Parisian lawyer, Moro-Giafferi—an unpleasant shyster-type lawyer—who, in the Salle Wagram, vented a hate-filled diatribe that ended with "Goering, l'incendiaire c'est toi!" (Goering, *thou* art the incendiary!). The hate propaganda by which the world was to be brought to war with Germany had found its first slogan.[41]

Moro Giafferi continued to work for the LICA. For the trial of David Frankfurter, the Jewish murderer of Wilhelm Gustloff, Giafferi was at once sent to Switzerland to make himself familiar with the material on the case. The LICA injected itself repeatedly into the preliminary investigations and insisted that Giafferi assume Frankfurter's defense. Because of language difficulties, he was not admitted. Giafferi spoke only French; the proceedings were to be conducted in German.

We already met with the names LICA and Moro-Giafferi, in connection with Herschel Grynszpan. The LICA office lay just around the corner from the house of Herschel's uncle, Abraham Grynszpan, where Herschel lived until August 15, 1938. Herschel passed the LICA office daily on the way to his hotel. There is every reason to be convinced that he didn't just walk past it, but that, in fact, he made contact there. Otherwise, why would the LICA lawyer appear at the Paris police station and present himself as Grynszpan's

defense attorney? How could he have known so quickly that Grynszpan was there? Why should LICA have borne the costs of Grynszpan's defense? Why did Grynszpan remain silent about his connections?

Before we go back finally to the occurrences that prefaced the *Kristallnacht*, let us pause briefly to look at an episode that so closely resembles the Grynszpan murder case that they could be mistaken one for another: The murder of Wilhelm Gustloff, resident regional director of the NSDAP Foreign Organization in Switzerland.

CHAPTER V

The Murder of Wilhelm Gustloff

Wilhelm Gustloff, born 1895 in Schwerin (northern Germany), had lived in Switzerland as an employee of a Swiss research institute in Davos since 1917. There he joined the National Socialist movement; in 1932 he became leader of its "Switzerland Group." Since he was consumptive, he lived a rather withdrawn life. Four days after his forty-first birthday, he was shot dead by the Jewish murderer, David Frankfurter.

Frankfurter was born 1911 in Vincovici (Yugoslavia). His parents emigrated to Frankfurt-am-Main where his father settled as a rabbi. David had a strictly orthodox upbringing. After finishing school, he began to study medicine, but could not pass the preliminary examination. At the age of 22, he went to Bern, in Switzerland, and there renewed his studies. There, too, he failed the examination. He began to lead a bad life. His family in Germany rebuked him severely and at last disowned him.

One day, at the beginning of 1936, Frankfurter bought a revolver, went to a firing range, and began to practice shooting. Some days later, he left Bern, and travelled to Davos. At that time, the individual Swiss cantons had their own penal codes. Graubuenden, to which Davos belonged, did not have the death penalty for murder.

After Frankfurter had ascertained that, he resolved, as he testified later at the police interrogation, to kill a prominent representative of National Socialism.

Arrived in Davos, Frankfurter let a few days go by and reconnoitered the area. On the evening of February 4th, he went to Gustloff's apartment, and asked to see him on an urgent personal matter. Mrs. Gustloff, who had opened the door, led him to her husband in his study. Gustloff greeted him, and inquired about the reason for his call. In reply, Frankfurter declaimed that he was a Jew, and come to avenge the Jewish people. With that, he drew his pistol and fired a number of shots at Gustloff, who fell dead.

Frankfurter tried to get away, but was arrested on the same evening by Swiss gendarmerie. The very next morning, a representative of the LICA appeared, and demanded to take part in the preliminary hearing.

At first, Frankfurter stated he had acted deliberately and with intention. As a Jew, he wanted to avenge his people on a prominent representative of Hitler-Germany. The Jewish press hailed him as a new "David" who had slain the German Goliath. The Jewish journalist, Emil Ludwig, wrote a sort of hero-epic, *The Murder at Davos.*

After intensive consultation with his defense attorney, a senior Zurich jurist, who had replaced the rejected Moro-Giafferi, Frankfurter changed his

tactic. He intimated that someone else had given him the idea for the murder, that people in the background had incited him to the deed. Finally, this version, too, was discarded, and the event was presented as a lamentable accident. Frankfurter's defense counsel, in the principal proceeding declared:

> It happened to be an automatic pistol, with which the unfortunate victim of Nazism, in his desperation, wanted to take his life before a picture of Hitler in Gustloff's apartment, when the automatic pistol went off in the wrong direction, so that not Frankfurter, but Gustloff, was struck.[42]

Frankfurter was sentenced to sixteen years in prison, the maximum penalty in Graubunden. He was released after 1945. From the lead-in to a film shown on German television some years ago (repeated in 1979), one learned that Frankfurter went to Israel, and lives there on "reparations" paid him by the West German rump-state.

Professor Dr. Friedrich Grimm, as counsel for the co-plaintiff, Mrs. Gustloff, took part in the trial, held at Chur. Many years later, he still was convinced that Frankfurter must have had accomplices, who remained hidden. "The whole manner of his defense, his preparation for the deed, indicate that he was only a tool, that the instigators were to be sought elsewhere... There was strong circumstantial evidence implicating people around the LICA."[43] But here, again, there was no conclusive evidence, without which, in a state governed by law, nothing can be taken as proven.

CHAPTER VI

Echoes of the Grynszpan Assault in German Public Opinion

Let us go back to the events that followed upon the Grynszpan murder. As in the case of the Frankfurter murder, the question of hidden accomplices arose. Again, LICA seemed the most likely suspect, but there was no absolutely conclusive evidence. Grynszpan remained as silent as did his predecessor, Frankfurter.

The German press did not hide its outrage at the murderous attack on vom Rath. In an editorial on November 8th, 1938, the *Völkischer Beobachter* expiloded:

> It is clear that the German people will draw their conclusions from this latest deed. It is an impossible state of affairs when within our borders hundreds of thousands of Jews still dominate entire shopping streets, populate places of amusement and, as foreign absentee landlords pocket the money of German tenants—while their co-racials on the outside call for war against Germany and shoot down German officials. The line connecting Herschel Grynszpan to David Frankfurter shows clearly. As we see, the Jewish world press once more is trying to whitewash and glorify the killer and to throw suspicion on the murdered man.

The Jewish population of the U.S.A. showed special understanding for the murder committed by Grynszpan. Dorothy Thompson, a well known gossip journalist, took up a collection for the "poor, heroic" young man.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* continues:

> We shall mark the names of those who approve this cowardly, treacherous assassination... The shots fired in the German embassy in Paris will signify not only the beginning of a new German posture in the Jewish question, but also, it is to be hoped, they will be a message to those in other countries who, up to now, have not realized that, in the final analysis, it is only the international Jew who stands athwart an understanding among the peoples.

Today, perhaps, such language may sound exaggerated in its asperity. To understand historical processes, it is necessary to project one's self into the circumstances of the time. Newspaper editorials, like the one quoted above, reflected the generally prevailing mood. It expressed the anger felt at seeing German government officials shot down in cold blood. It must be borne in mind that in 1938 such acts were not routine. There were no terrorist gangs who abducted and murdered politicians whose orientation they didn't like. In 1938, the world was relatively peaceful and orderly. Political murder excited the whole populace to indignation.

In his book *Der 9, November 1938* [The 9th of November 1938], Graml

insinuates that the *Völkischer Beobachter* piece was a signal for the occurrences that followed later. He gives no evidence. In reality, the editorial had nothing to do with them, but merely, as pointed out above, put into words what the people thought.

In the meanwhile, in Paris, vom Rath lay dying. He had been taken to a French hospital immediately after the shooting for surgery. Two specialists were sent from Germany. A French front-line veteran presented himself as blood donor. One of the bullets had wounded vom Rath, although not critically, in the shoulder. The second, however, had gone through the spleen, and came to rest in the wall of the stomach. All effort were in vain. The internal injuries were too severe.

On November 8th, Adolf Hitler promoted the young legation secretary to Embassy Counsellor. On November 9th, 1938, at 5:30 p. m., he expired.

CHAPTER VII

November 9th, 1938

In the Third Reich, November 9th was the day of remembrance of those who fell fighting for the National Socialist movement. Every year on this day the veterans of the 1923 march to the Feldherrnhalle, the higher leadership echelons, and the regional leaders (Gauleiter) assembled in Munich. Many participants arrived the day before, to be present when the Fuehrer addressed the old guard in the Buergerbraeukeller (brewery beer hall) on the evening of the 8th. The ceremonies continued with the traditional re-enactment of the march to the Feldherrnhalle, followed by a "memorial hour" at the Royal Square.

Unknown Provocateurs

On that November 9th, while the festivities went on in Munich, strange things happened in small localities in Hessia. What we recount now is taken from West German court findings after 1945 as part of the prosecution of "National Socialist crimes," including the "Reichskristallnacht."

> Strangers surfaced singly in small towns and villages. They approached Party and SA leaders to press them to act against the Jews. The mayor and local Party leader of Schupbach (near Limburg) told his police sergeant-major, "Somebody had appeared, and raised a row because no action had yet been taken against the Jews in Schupbach." Who the "somebody" was could not be ascertained.
>
> In Marburg two members of the SD (Sicherheitsdienst—Security Service) from Kassel appeared in SS-uniform before the commander of the SA regiment "Jaeger II" and ordered him to destroy the Marburg synagogue. The regimental commander told them he did not take orders from the SD.[44]

A bizarre phenomenon indeed. Strangers appear abruptly out of nowhere. They offer no identification. They go to Party and SA leaders, and to the top civic authority. Without saying who sent them these completely unknown individuals demand, even command, that action, drastic action, be taken against the Jews of the community. Yet, when their importunities are rebuffed, the intruders vanish silently.

The attempt by the pretended SS-men to order an SS regimental commander about was so hopelessly unrealistic that this gesture alone shows them to have been fraudulent. When the SS (*Schutzstaffel*—guard echelon) was founded, it was *subordinate* to the SA (Sturm Abteilung—storm detachment — "Brownshirts"); it later became a separate unit. But at no time did it have command authority over the SA.

Unknown provocateurs emerged in numerous other localities, where they tried to induce persons in authority to undertake acts against the Jews. When they did not succeed in getting others to make the first move, the

provocateurs themselves set the scene:

> In other instances, the foreign provocateurs did not turn to Party headquarters or to any of its sections, but instead started pogroms by themselves.
>
> It happened that way in Muenzenberg (near Giessen) where the drivers of two government cars, one from Darmstadt, the other from Friedberg, used public anti-Semitic speeches in the market square to unleash an assault on the synagogue.[45]

The two drivers disappeared, not to be seen again. In the course of the day the picture changed. The provocateurs, who at first materialized singly and hesitantly, more and more frequently formed themselves into groups, and became bolder. They pretended to be acting on orders, threatened, and themselves took action more often to move bystanders to take part. They sent the first stones crashing through Jewish shop windows, into Jewish homes, and began attacking the synagogues. In the late evening and night hours the actions intensified.

At first it was mainly smaller localities in Hessia that were disturbed. During the afternoon, one or two incidents occurred in Magdeburg. These were only skirmishes, so to speak. The main body of provocateurs would take up its position in the evening hours.

Gathering of the Old Guard and Goebbels' Address

That evening, the Party leaders were in Munich at a dinner with the Fuehrer. The assembly was held in the great hall of the old town council building. As they sat, eating and chatting, various reports came in. One was that Embassy Counsellor vom Rath had died of his wounds late that afternoon in Paris. The others were of disturbances in Hessia and Magdeburg.

To acquire a full perspective, let us examine the tales of our practitioners of contemporary history, even though they contradict each other on all points but one: the part played in the *Kristallnacht* by their National Socialist "villain," Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda. If their diverse stories are taken at face value, here is what may have transpired:

After Hitler received news of vom Rath's death, "he spoke very intently for a while to Goebbels, seated next to him, in a voice so low that even those nearest by could not understand the content of the conversation."[46] In the recollection of the Munich Police President, von Eberstein, brought up at the Nuremberg trials, Hitler was deeply moved. To Rudolf Jordan, Gauleiter of Magdeburg-Anhalt, the Fuehrer looked tired, "as we all did ... after two long days of strenuous activity."[47] From Jordan's statement, it appears that it was not Hitler who ("tired as he was") intently urged something on Goebbels; Goebbels was persuading Hitler, "in a lively voice," i.e., not in an inaudible whisper.

Toward 9 p.m., Hitler left the assemblage for his private apartment. After he had gone, Goebbels "went into action." To begin with, he let it be known that no one was to leave; he still had some important information to impart. Except for Gauleiter Julius Streicher of Franconia, who was indisposed, and

returned to Nuremberg, all remained seated. Dr. Goebbels held a lengthy conversation with Heydrich (who, "contemporary historians" affirm, was in two other places at that time). At last, the Propaganda Minister rose to speak. The text of his address has not been preserved, and no one can recall its wording, or its exact content. Nevertheless, the "contemporary historian" Hoehne knows, for sure, "that it must be counted among the masterpieces of National Socialist demagoguery."[48] "The talk was blatantly inflammatory," Baldur von Schirach said at Nuremberg.[49] Besides, it was vague, "and oozed hatred of Jews."[50]

What did Goebbels actually say in his address? That is an embarrassing question. No one knows exactly what. But that doesn't bother our "historians": Goebbels demanded the synagogues be stormed, if not in just those words, then obliquely.[51] Anyone who hesitates to accept that is, obviously, an incorrigible Nazi.

After Goebbels' address, we are told:

> The old combatants, mostly leaders of various Party formations, ran to the telephones, and energetically called orders to their units in the countryside. Finally, they could feel themselves masters of the Jewish question; at last the Party could re-assert its right to a voice in government. The SA scented the approach of the hour in which they would be able to come out of the shadows again, and to avenge the deeds of June 30, 1934. Dr. Joseph Goebbels dominated the scene. Tirelessly, he dictated telex messages to his propaganda offices around the country. Telephones rang incessantly. Adjutants hastened in to receive the orders of the Propaganda Minister.[52]

Let us try to recover for a moment from this hectic verbiage, get back to the facts and look soberly at what really happened.

Goebbels — Instigator of the *Kristallnacht?*

What can we say with certainty? After the dinner, towards 9 p.m., Hitler left the old town hall. If, before leaving, he spoke a few words with Dr. Goebbels, those words hardly could have been secret instructions to start a pogrom.

Then Dr. Goebbels stood up and informed those present of the death of vom Rath. We do not know how Goebbels spoke, nor exactly what he said. Those who remember his speeches can imagine that he may have spoken with outrage and bitterness against the murder, simply from spontaneous indignation.

He mentioned that in Magdeburg-Anhalt and in Hessia-Nassau there had been isolated transgressions against Jewish shops. (We recall that provocateurs had been active all day.) Most probably, he mentioned this ironically in a tone of pretended commiseration that invited the inference that if the murderer Grynszpan's fellow Jews now had their windows smashed, they deserved it amply. The reputation of Dr. Goebbels' temperament helped to strengthen that impression.

Though Baldur von Schirach may have considered Goebbels' address to

be inflammatory, it remains a fact, disputed by no one, that Dr. Goebbels neither ordered (for which he had no authority in any case), nor incited his listeners to, a pogrom. One of his closest colleagues, State Secretary Dr. Werner Naumann, remarked later:

> I shall readily assume that when the news of vom Rath's death reached the gathering of the "old combatants," Dr. G. did not speak soothing words. He would surely, as was his nature, rather have dramatized the event. Such reactions by Dr. G. were well known, from other occasions, to those at the dinner. But it is a far cry from an emotional discourse to the burning of Jewish houses of worship throughout the Reich at the same hour. Dr. G. cannot be held responsible for the "Kristallnacht" if only because he had no means by which to bring it off. He had no household troops, and it would not have been possible with the people he did have. The dubious status of the so-called regional and provincial propaganda chiefs is well known. That the regional propaganda people in Koenigsberg, for instance, could undertake action against Jews by order of Dr. Goebbels, is unthinkable. If they should have tried it, the regional leader (Gauleiter) would have pulled them out of their jobs in a minute. It is that way all over the Reich, with one exception: Berlin. Here Dr. G. is also the Gauleiter, and in that function has sufficient resources to carry out such actions in his region.
>
> At the same time, you know how much importance Dr. G. attaches to presenting Berlin, the capital of the Reich, as a showcase of order and cleanliness. In the Reich capital, for which he was responsible, there was to be no crime, nor any disturbance, not to speak of a Kurfuerstendamm of looted luxury shops, the sidewalks littered with the broken glass of their storefronts.
>
> Taking all this into consideration, it can be stated positively that an order for the destruction of synagogues and the plundering of Jewish stores never could have come from Dr. Goebbels. He did not have the means to carry out such acts in the provinces, and he would not tolerate them in the capital.[53]

If not by order of Dr. Goebbels, how could these actions have occurred? They had been going on most of the day, having started well before Dr. Goebbels gave his "address" in Munich. His words alone, spoken to a relatively small group, in a closed room, could not have had the strength to loose storms of destruction against Jewish houses of worship, dwellings, and places of business, over hundreds of kilometers, in remote towns and villages throughout the Reich, all at the same time, within the hour in which they were spoken, and, in fact, even before they were uttered. Obviously, Dr. Goebbels did not conjure up the provocateurs and place them at the scenes of their crimes, nor did he incite Party members, or doubtful elements, to acts of violence. The precisely calculated criminal plan, carried out with cold deliberation, that underlay all this, was not the work of Dr. Goebbels, but of other powers. Legally acceptable evidence still being kept out of reach, we take recourse to the classic question, *Cui bono?* to help us in surmising the identities of the perpetrators, and of the forces, inside and outside Germany, who, tactically coordinated and staged the *Kristallnacht.*

In the so-called "trial" at Nuremberg of the leaders of the German Reich, there was presented, in connection with the events of the *Kristallnacht*, a

document that we shall be taking up in detail. It was classified as a "key document"; it really is, even though in a sense different from the one claimed. The item is an alleged telex message that Heydrich, by order of Himmler, was said to have sent to police precinct stations. If this telex message were genuine, there would be no doubt that the SS bears the main guilt for the occurrences of the *Kristallnacht*. However, in the course of the Nuremberg trial, the accusations against the SS could not be sustained; the SS was found not guilty. Nonetheless, the telex message is still cited. An analysis of this document furnishes information about its authors and its purpose. It also reveals that all events related to the *Kristallnacht*, beginning with the murder of vom Rath, were part of a plan, a plan with which Dr. Goebbels had nothing to do. The message does not mention Dr. Goebbels. With his "speech" he put an end to the original intent to stamp the SS as guilty, and practically offered himself as scapegoat, which he then, in fact, became, especially in all post-war literature. Even men of superior intellectual capacity, who held high ranks in National Socialist Germany still are convinced that Dr. Goebbels at the very least had a hand in the affair.

The accusation is senseless. Not only because there is no evidence for it, there is a long list of evidence against it. The behavior of his listeners, the Gauleiters and SA commanders, shows that once he had talked the bitterness out of his system he was cooly dispassionate once again, and warned Party and SA leaders most stringently against taking part in any anti-Jewish demonstrations. Graml, the "*Kristallnacht* expert," asserts the contrary, employing an argument that smacks of schizophrenia: Graml concedes that Goebbels advised the Party not to engage in demonstrations, but—and here the psycho-historian comes out—he really didn't mean it. But the Gauleiters telephoned their regional communication centers to issue orders to prevent all anti-Jewish acts. Graml acknowledges that, too, and, in trying to explain it to himself, becomes confused, and goes on to write vaguely about why Dr. Goebbels was blamed in the first place.

> The high-ranking leaders present telephoned instructions—varying individually in constraint and urgency—to their subordinates in accordance with address they had just heard.[54]

Maybe Graml knows what he means by orders with individual variations. However, the questions I have put to him about this, and about other difficulties in his presentation, remain unanswered.

Until there is proof to the contrary, we must contend that all assertions to the effect that Dr. Goebbels had anything to do with the *Kristallnacht* are sheer fantasy. The events that transpired from November 7th, 1938 on—the day of the murderous attack on Ernst vom Rath—refute that version on every point.

With his high order of intelligence, it would not have occurred to Goebbels to promote this insanity; its disastrous consequences for Germany would have been apparent to him beforehand. These acts, that the world regarded

as "anti-Jewish" were, in reality, *anti-German* manifestations on an unprecedented scale. It was the German Reich that suffered tremendous damage.

Gauleiters and SA-Chief of Staff Forbid Action by Brownshirts

Dr. Goebbels also had relayed the news of vom Rath's death, at the same time warning Party members and SA members strictly that under no circumstances were they to take part in any anti-Jewish demonstrations, and to prevent them at all costs. Neither as Reich Propaganda Minister—and especially not in his position as a Reich minister—nor as Gauleiter of Berlin, did Goebbels have authority to give orders to other Gauleiters or to the Brownshirts. Nevertheless, Goebbels' admonition about the manifestations were accepted by the other Gauleiters, and by the SA Chief of Staff, Victor Lutze, who passed it on to the SA formations.

Jacob Sprenger, Gauleiter of Hessia-Nassau, felt himself most exposed, since anti-Jewish acts were reported mainly from his region. He telephoned his office in Frankfurt/Main and gave strict orders to desist from all action against Jews, or their property, and, insofar as they occurred, to put a stop to them at once. Frankfurt/Main responded quickly; within the hour it had passed the order on to all local offices; the Hanau office, e.g., acknowledging receipt between nine and ten p.m. In the meanwhile, anti-Jewish demonstrations were reported from Wachenbuchen, in the Hanau district. At that, Hanau district leader Else, provincial counsellor Loeser, and district propaganda chief Mankel at once made their way there to stop them.[55]

The district leader of Erbach, as another example, reacted in the same way. Since everything was quiet at first in his district, he saw no need to take any action. But the next day, November 10th, provocateurs turned up in various localities of his district, and tried to provoke disturbances. The district leader immediately called his local leaders together, and gave his instructions.[56]

The Gauleiter of Hamburg, Kaufmann, though not present at the Munich meeting, was notified, and immediately gave peremptory orders against anti-Jewish acts.[57]

Carl Roever, Gauleiter of Weser-Ems, telephoned the Oldenburg district leader, Engelhart, instructing him to phone the other district leaders, and to pass on the strict order: No violent incidents![58]

The SA Chief of Staff, Lutze, reacted as did the Gauleiters. Right after Dr. Goebbels' report that various acts against Jews already had taken place, he instructed the SA leaders to telephone their offices with the order that SA were not to participate in actions against Jews or their establishments, and, where transgressions had occurred, to post guards to prevent further damage, or looting.[59] Complying, the SA leaders hurried to their Munich quarters in the "Rheinischer Hof" Hotel to telephone their units.

Where was Reinhard Heydrich that night?

Before concerning ourselves with the next events, let us glance again at what contemporary history is claiming. Reading these contradictory and, in part, obviously untruthful accounts prompts the question: Is sticking to the facts a meaningless, or unknown, concept to "contemporary historians" obsessed with wanting to "prove" their preconceived notions?

For instance, there is the question of how, and where, Reinhard Heydrich spent the evening and night of November 9/10, 1938. There are differing versions.

Rudolf Jordan, former Gauleiter of Magdeburg-Anhalt, reports on the dinner in the old Munich town hall:

> After Goebbels had ended a lengthy conversation with Heydrich—Himmler was not present—Goebbels rose to make the announced declaration.[60]

Hermann Graml, associated with the Institute For Contemporary History, Munich:

> The SS was hardly represented at the comradeship evening in the old Munich town hall. It is certain that neither Himmler nor other important SS leaders heard Goebbels' address. Heydrich, chief of the security police and of the security service, was then in the hotel "Vier Jahreszeiten" in Munich. At 11:15 p.m., i.e., after the first orders had been sent out by Party leaders and SA commanders, Heydrich had a phone call from the Munich office of the state police, whose duty officer wanted to know what orders Heydrich had for the security police and for the secret state police (Gestapo). Heydrich was surprised and, at the moment, made no answer. He wanted first to have Himmler's decision, and sent SS-Group Leader Wolff to see him.[61]

Luitpold Schallermeier, an SS-officer, made a sworn deposition (more about it later) that was presented at Nuremberg as an evidentiary document:

> Toward 11:15 on the night of November 9th, 1938, the duty officer at the state police office in Munich telephoned the hotel "Vier Jahreszeiten" to report to SS-Group Leader Heydrich—with whom SS-Group Leader Wolff, SS-Officer Hajo von Hadeln and Dr. Brandt, and I were together—that the propaganda office of the Munich-Upper Bavaria region had issued an order about the outbreak of "Jewish pogroms," according to which order, the state police were not to be allowed to interfere. The duty officer asked what orders SS-Group Leader Heydrich, in his capacity as chief of the security police, was giving. Heydrich said he would call back. Heydrich and Wolff knew nothing of what was happening. Group Leader Wolff went at once to the Fuehrer's apartment in the outer Prinzregentenstrasse, where he found Himmler, and informed him of the state of affairs. Toward 1:00 a.m., Reichsfuehrer-SS Himmler arrived at the "Vier Jahreszeiten" and gave Group Leader Heydrich the following order for all state police elements: "The state police are to be guided by the wishes of the propaganda offices, in particular, to prevent plunder and protect the persons and property of Jews."[62]

Dr. Werner Best, Ministerial Director in the Ministry of the Interior, judicial counsellor to the state police, as witness before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal, stated on July 31, 1946:

I know from my personal experience that Heydrich, at that time chief of the security police, was completely taken by surprise by these events, because I was with him while a synagogue went up in flames a few meters from our hotel, and we had known nothing about it. Thereupon, Heydrich hurried to Himmler. Heydrich was briefed there, and given an order that he transmitted to the state police authorities.[63]

Guenther Deschner, a Heydrich biographer:

Heydrich, who long after the war was reputed to be the instigator of the "Kristallnacht" was surprised by this action of Goebbels when a synagogue burned in the immediate vicinity of his room in the hotel "Vier Jahreszeiten" in Munich. He and his Gestapo jurist, Dr. Werner Best, were still puzzling about the cause of the synagogue blaze, when a phone call from the Munich Gestapo office gave the answer. The regional propaganda office, a Goebbels dependency, had advised the secret state police (Gestapo) that "Jewish pogroms, with which the Gestapo was not permitted to interfere, had been ordered." When the stunned Heydrich asked Reichsfuehrer-SS Himmler for clarification and orders, Himmler merely passed on an order from Hitler that said nothing more than that the SS was to stay out of the matter, and that Heydrich's Gestapo was only to safeguard Jewish property.[64]

Gerald Reitlinger, a "final solution" specialist:

Heydrich made a very careful effort to provide himself with an alibi; which indicates he was not merely a functionary of Hitler or Goebbels. On the evening of November 9th, he was not in Munich with Hitler and the Party leaders, but in a hotel in Nuremberg, with Werner Best, one of the Gestapo chiefs, according to whom Heydrich feigned complete ignorance when a nearby synagogue was on fire, and did not issue orders to the state police until he had first phoned Himmler in Munich.[65]

Frau Lina Heydrich, wife of Reinhard Heydrich, declares that she and her husband were in their house in Berlin. The pertinent part of her statement follows:

One evening, we had gone to sleep early, when I was awakened by a knocking at our bedroom door. "What's the matter," I called. "Who's knocking?" "It's Schmidt," was the answer. (Schmidt was the man who guarded our house at night.) "The Group Leader is to call his office at once!" To my question as to what was going on, Schmidt replied, "The synagogues are burning!" I dialed the number and awakened Reinhard. My husband then acted with incredible speed. Only partially dressed — he buttoned up his uniform blouse on the way — he drove to the office. He returned hours later. I still see him before me, his face deathly pale, his eyes staring emptily. Upon my pleading to tell me what had happened, he just said, perturbed and absently, "Please let me be. I'll tell you later." We lay quietly alongside each other in bed for a while. Then I turned off the light. Neither of us could sleep. Then the first words came haltingly from his lips: "They have smashed everything, destroyed and plundered all the stores; the synagogue in Wilmersdorf is probably still burning!"[66]

That should suffice, for the moment, to give an idea of the lack of knowledge — or, more accurately, the lack of conscience — with which some writers depict historical events. Even Heydrich's biographer, Deschner, evidently felt no need to research his subject.

To sum up: Heydrich was in Berlin (Frau Heydrich); in Nuremberg (Reitlinger); and in Munich (the other authors); all at the same time.

In Berlin, he was at home with his wife, asleep when a guard knocked at his bedroom door to have him call his office. In Nuremberg, he was in a hotel with Dr. Best. In Munich, he was also in a hotel with the same Dr. Best. Simultaneously, he was in a hotel with four other gentlemen, but not with Dr. Best. At the same time, he attended the comradeship dinner with the Fuehrer at the old Munich town hall.

According to the testimony of Dr. Best, Heydrich was disturbed by the sight of a burning synagogue near his hotel.

The Heydrich biographer, Deschner, too, has Heydrich disturbed by a burning synagogue. However, Heydrich does not rush to Himmler, but "puzzles about its cause." It is a telephone call from the Munich Gestapo office that gives Heydrich the explanation.

Schallermeier, on the other hand, claims that a telephone call from the state police to the completely unwitting Heydrich, who was unaware of any synagogue fire, informed Heydrich of the circumstances.

Dr. Best says that Heydrich himself hurried to Himmler; Schallermeier says he sent Group Leader Wolff; Reitlinger states that Heydrich telephoned Himmler from Nuremberg. According to his wife, Heydrich didn't bother about Himmler, but went to view the synagogues burning in Berlin. Of all these stories, which, if any, is true?

At first reading, it is Reitlinger's that is most easily impugned. As the source for his assertion that Heydrich was in Nuremberg, Reitlinger proffers Dr. Best's testimony at the Nuremberg trial (which has been cited above). There is not a word about a Nuremberg hotel in that testimony. Dr. Best testifies simply that he was with Heydrich when a synagogue burned in the vicinity of their hotel. The city in which that hotel is located is not identified in Dr. Best's testimony. Reitlinger does not scruple to offer Dr. Best's neutral declaration as evidence that Heydrich was in Nuremberg.

Graml and Deschner utilize the IMT texts of the Schallermeier and Best statements, even though they contradict each other.

1. According to Schallermeier, Heydrich, on that evening of November 9th, was in the company of Wolff, von Hadeln, Dr. Brandt, and Schallermeier. According to Best, Schallermeier was alone with him.
2. According to Schallermeier, Heydrich is notified by telephone of "Jewish pogroms" that allegedly had been ordered. According to Dr. Best, Heydrich saw a synagogue on fire near the hotel "Vier Jahreszeiten," and did not in the least suspect that it was anything but a casual blaze.
3. Schallermeier states that Heydrich sent Group Leader Wolff to see Himmler. Dr. Best says Heydrich himself went.

Graml here—as almost everywhere in his work—combines two differing testimonies. Where Dr. Best's testimony suits him better, he quotes that. Where Schallermeier's deposition can be fitted in, he employs it. Graml does

not disclose to his readers that Best and Schallermeier do not agree, and, in consequence, that only one of them—if either—can be right.

While, logically, Frau Heydrich should be the best informed, her moving portrayal of a Heydrich of deathly pale countenance, eyes vacantly staring, must, when contrasted with the affirmations of Rudolf Jordan and Dr. Best, be relegated to the realm of romantic fiction. A great many things were mixed in Frau Heydrich's memory. Immediately preceding the part of her narrative quoted further above, she wrote that the so-called "Nuremberg Laws," voted and promulgated September 15, 1935, were an after-effect of Grynszpan's murder of vom Rath, which was committed in November 1938, more than three years later.

The only credible statements are those of Dr. Werner Best and of Rudolf Jordan.

Jordan, because of personal associations, remembers the dinner in the old Munich town hall very precisely, and avows, with absolute assurance, that Heydrich was present.[67]

After the dinner, Heydrich probably went to his hotel. Himmler had extended invitations to the oath-taking ceremony for recruits to the SS-Special Duty troops at the Feldherrnhalle at midnight. (They were *not* recruits to the Waffen-SS, as Jordan indicated, and as Eberstein testified at Nuremberg, because in 1938 the Waffen-SS did not yet exist.) Heydrich most likely took part in this ceremony. It was only after the swearing-in, at which the Fuehrer spoke, that Heydrich and Dr. Best were together in the hotel "Vier Jahreszeiten." Only then was the nearby synagogue burning. Heydrich, troubled, hastened to Himmler, who was in the same hotel at the time.

At Himmler's order, Heydrich, at 1:20 a.m. (November 10th), telexed instructions to all police offices to maintain calm and order throughout the country, and to protect Jewish property. Insofar as that might be necessary to protect the persons of Jews, they were to be taken into protective custody. Whatever anti-Jewish actions might still be occurring were to be put down at once. The SS now, too—as had the Party and the Brownshirts—received instructions to avoid participation in the disturbances under all circumstances.

Postwar History and the Historical Truth

Since at least the nineteenth century, it was a matter of honor for German historians to use the critical-evaluation-of-sources method introduced by Niebuhr and Ranke. "Verification and examination of the origin and the nature of available sources" and "scrupulousness in methodological and technical procedure" (Brockhaus) in the critical scrutiny of the written and non-written residues of the past, earned worldwide renown for German historical science.

That not even a trace of this honorable precept is to be found in today's contemporary history fabrications is made apparent by the following (typi-

cal) examples.

Reitlinger claims that Heydrich was in Nuremberg, not in Munich, on the night of November 9th. His authority for that is indicated by IMT Volume XX, p. 151. That is Dr. Best's testimony, which was quoted. As will be recalled, it makes no mention of a stay in Nuremberg, which occurred only in Reitlinger's imagination. Reitlinger's arbitrary and mendacious statement that Heydrich was in Nuremberg is tendered by him as conclusive evidence that Heydrich, in reality, had more to do with the Kristallnacht affair than appears at first glance. The very fact that Heydrich—allegedly—was not in Nuremberg makes him suspect.

The "contemporary historians" avail themselves of an intriguing strategem. They make an assertion and, ostensibly, furnish an authority for it. This is usually in the form of a reference to a book or other source. The "authority" need not be compatible with the assertion. The writer feels secure in the assumption that few, if any, will trouble to verify it. Reitlinger references the trial records of the International Military Tribunal as the purported basis of his assertion about Heydrich's being in Nuremberg. The IMT record comprises a prodigious forty-two volumes. Where can the average layman find them?

Though a premise is known to be false, all sorts of conclusions may still be drawn from it. The negative-evidence artifice is helpful. "That Heydrich was not in Munich proves that he was involved in Munich." Or, from another situation, "No gas chambers have been found, that proves they existed, and were destroyed."

All this is a scandalous abuse of the trust of the reader, who takes for granted that the author of a scientific work will have examined his sources carefully, and then used them in the correct context. This type of historical writing forsakes conscientiousness and the striving for truth expected naturally of the historical researcher, and leaves them discarded by the wayside.

A further example of a modern German historian is Hermann Graml. It has been shown how he does not balk at using two opposing sources, mixing them together, to try to prove a point. His book on the *Kristallnacht* crawls with the most astounding contradictions. He quotes testimonies, supplies supporting references, cites eyewitness accounts—and presents them as authorities for the opposite of what they attest. He accepts generally acknowledged facts—and uses them to bolster his phantasmagoria. In regard to the provocateurs, he cites court records that allude, time and again, to "unknown agitators directed from outside." Apparently, he agrees with that, but, as if by reflex, and without justification, asserts they were "secret agents of Dr. Goebbels," even when their very behavior demonstrated that they hadn't a clue to the Party's internal organization.

On the pogroms, Graml concedes

> ... nowhere does it appear they were ordered at a high level ...

and adds that in post-1945 court procedures against individuals suspected of having taken part in the disturbances,

> ...not one used as a defense that he acted under orders...

Graml admits further:

> ...the transgressions occurred spontaneously ...There can be no talk of participation by the Party... Beyond doubt, there were no orders by the top tier of the Party...

and, more equivocally,

> Without the top, or even the middle, leadership of the Party having to take responsibility, attacks on Jews happened, apparently spontaneously, but did not turn into a true popular demonstration.[68]

In the face of the above, Graml writes: "The complete destruction of Jewish property by a pogrom, to be mounted and directed by the Party, was ordered."[69]

Ordered by whom? Graml does not say. He continues:

> On the evening of November 9th, the Hanau district leader, like several other local NSDAP functionaries, received a secret order from Gauleiter Sprenger forbidding all unauthorized action.

Except for its not having been a "secret order," that is accurate. But then Graml adds:

> However, in the early hours of the morning of November 10th, a telephone call from the regional propaganda office countermanded Sprenger, and ordered "ruthless retribution for the death of vom Rath."'[70]

If true—Graml offers no substantiation—that could have been one of the numerous mysterious calls that played a significant part in the events.

A Gauleiter's order could not be revoked, or altered, by a propaganda office. Gauleiters were sovereign in their regions, responsible only to Hitler; only a Fuehrer-command could have cancelled a Gauleiter's order; a propaganda office—that, moreover, was administratively subordinate to the Gauleiter—never. Wherever the call may have come from, it was not from the propaganda office. The caller's clumsy attempt to overrule a Gauleiter should have made it clear at once that he did not belong to the NSDAP, and knew nothing of its organization. Graml fails to draw this logical conclusion that, to a professional historian, should have been obvious.

When Graml talks about orders at Party headquarters, he can say no more than what is true: There were none. Neither Hitler, nor Goebbels, nor Himmler, nor Heydrich, nor the SA Chief of Staff Victor Lutze, ordered destruction of synagogues. Still, Graml sticks obdurately to his contention that the pogrom was produced by the National Socialist government.

How would the government have accomplished that? Graml agrees that no one said anything, but insists that wasn't necessary, e.g., Goebbels, in his "address"—whose text has not come down to us—*had the thought* of demolishing Jewish shops and setting synagogues on fire. After all, Graml points

CHAPTER VIII

Schallermeier's "Sworn Statement"

In the preceding section dealing with Heydrich the first part of a sworn statement by one Luitpold Schallermeier, submitted by the SS defense attorney, Dr. Pelckmann, at the Nuremberg trial, was cited. Here is the further text of that deposition:

Toward 1:00 a.m. the Reichsfuehrer-SS (Heinrich Himmler) arrived at the Hotel "Vier Jahreszeiten" and gave Group Leader Heydrich the following order for the state police. "The state police authorities are to be guided by the wishes of the propaganda offices especially to prevent plundering and to provide for the safety of Jewish persons and property." In this order the Reichsfuehrer emphasized further that the regional propaganda offices would set the guidelines and that the state police were only to perform security duties. Plunderers were to be taken in hand forcibly and without forbearance. In cases of synagogue fires, the fire brigades were unconditionally responsible for assuring the safety of adjacent buildings. Ritual objects and artifacts were to be safeguarded. This order by the Reichsfuehrer-SS to Group Leader Heydrich was taken down in shorthand by SS-Officer Dr. Brandt who, upon its confirmation by Heydrich, telephoned it to the state police communications center in Munich for immediate transmittal to all state police precincts in the Reich.

Thereupon the Reichsfuehrer-SS summoned the senior SS officers who were staying at the "Vier Jahreszeiten" for the November 9th celebrations to his apartment in the hotel. They, too, were told, in my presence, of this order. The senior SS officers then phoned their home offices. I, myself, put these calls through as "top priority" communications, and listened in on them. The senior SS officers telephoned their units instructions to support the state police, should that be necessary, to protect Jews and safeguard Jewish property from any kind of plundering.

Toward 3 a.m. on November 10th, the Reichsfuehrer-SS dictated to me, in my room, a memorandum with the following content:

"Toward 11:30 p.m. on November 9, while I was with the Fuehrer, Group Leader Wolff came in and informed me of the orders issued by the Munich regional propaganda office. I asked the Fuehrer what orders he had for me. The Fuehrer answered that the SS was to keep out of the affair. The state police was to provide safeguards for Jewish property and protection of Jews. Only if necessary was the SS to be employed for protective measures. I at once passed on this Fuehrer-command to Group Leader Heydrich for transmittal to the state police and to the senior SS officers. When I asked the Fuehrer, I had the impression that he knew nothing of what was happening. The order comes from the Reich's Propaganda directorate, and I surmise that Goebbels, in his striving for power and in his hollow-headedness, that I have noticed for some time, started this affair just at the time of our most difficult foreign political situation."

I had to type out this dictation right away. The Reichsfuehrer-SS signed the typed copy, put it in an envelope, and sealed the envelope with his sealing-ring. After returning to Berlin, I gave the Reichsfuehrer-SS the sealed letter that, in

my presence, he locked in his safe.[74]

The full text of this sworn statement—that, in the original, comprises three pages—is given because, in the hands of the *Kristallnacht* expert Graml, it contracted curiously.

The content of Schallermeier's declaration is entirely clear. Police and SS receive precise directives to stay out of the anti-Jewish tumults, and to keep themselves in readiness to protect the Jews and their property; in addition, they are to assist in securing Jewish ritual objects. The police are to:

> Prevent plundering and provide for the safety of the Jews and the security of their property. In cases of synagogue fires assure that surrounding buildings are covered by the fire brigades. Secure the objects and artifacts used in religious rites... As required, support the state police in protecting the persons of Jews and in securing objects and artifacts used in religious rites.

Heydrich sent out those directives through the police telex network toward 1:20 a.m. on November 10th. Simultaneously, the SS units are notified of these instructions directly by top-priority telephone calls from the senior SS officers. These calls took from 1:30 to 2:30 a.m. (footnote to the sworn deposition).

Schallermeier tells also of a memorandum-for-file that Himmler dictated to him. In that memo, Himmler records the orders received from the Fuehrer that he had already conveyed to Heydrich and the senior SS officers.

A studious reading of the sworn declaration focuses attention on five sentences that do not fit in with the content of the document, but actually are contrary to it. Right at the beginning (as was stated previously in connection with Heydrich), it states:

> ...that the Munich-Upper Bavaria regional propaganda office had issued an order in regard to the outbreak of so-called Jewish pogroms with which the state police was not permitted to interfere, and, further ..."the state police are to be guided by the wishes of the propaganda offices" and "the regional propaganda offices are to set the guidelines for this action."

In his memorandum-for-file Himmler records "Orders of the Munich regional propaganda office," and surmises that "Goebbels started the action."

Disregarding for the moment Himmler's "surmise" about Goebbels (that certainly could have been genuine), an artless reader could interpret the first sentences to mean that the Munich propaganda office had "ordered" Jewish pogroms throughout Germany, and had arranged that the police were not allowed to hinder them. According to that account, Himmler was in full accord with that disposition, and ordered the police to be guided by the wishes of the propaganda offices, since these were to set the guidelines for the action.

Clearly and simply, that is nonsense.

Finally, the person of highest authority who could have been in charge at the Munich regional propaganda office on the night of November 9, 1938 was the regional propaganda director. He could order propaganda measures

CHAPTER VIII

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Clearly and simply, that is nonsense.

Finally, the person of highest authority who could have been in charge at the Munich regional propaganda office on the night of November 9, 1938 was the regional propaganda director. He could order propaganda measures

in Munich-Upper Bavaria, but nowhere else in the Reich.

He had no authority over any police formation—let alone throughout Germany. He could not order police to do, or refrain from doing, anything whatever—which might be even the more true in the case of an anti-Jewish action, a very special and rare occurrence indeed.

Moreover, it is laughable to think that Himmler, Chief of the German Police, would have countenanced this intrusion into his sphere of competence, and would have endorsed an order that invited it.

Secondly, the text of the "sworn deposition" reads further: "The state police are to be guided by the wishes of the propaganda offices," i.e., to assist in the "Jewish pogroms" that supposedly were ordered, but the sentence goes on, " ... primarily to prevent plundering, and to provide protection for Jewish persons and security for Jewish property."

In other words, the police are to carry out Jewish pogroms by preventing looting and protecting the Jews. Such idiocy is beyond comment.

Thirdly, Himmler allegedly directed the police to conduct themselves in accordance with the wishes of the propaganda offices. However, in his memorandum-for-file he derided the "hollow-headedness" of Dr. Goebbels, whose "hollow-headed" instructions he now supported. The remark sounds so much like Himmler that it must be considered authentic. Precisely in that case, if one really thought the action originated with Goebbels, he would have had every reason to issue orders to the opposite effect—as, in fact, he did.

Fourthly, the first sentence, "...that the Munich-Upper Bavaria regional propaganda office issued an order about the outbreak of so-called 'Jewish pogroms' " is linguistically illogical. Orders were not issued "about" something, they were issued to someone, to do, or not do, this or that; neither was the term "Jewish pogrom" in use.

The sentences in question were inserted into the text quite obviously to "prove" Dr. Goebbels' guilt in the events. Without these interjections, the sentences make sense, as is demonstrated by stripping the words in italics when reading the following:

> The state police are to be *guided by the wishes of the propaganda offices* primarily to prevent plundering and to provide for the protection of Jewish persons and the security of Jewish property.
>
> The Reichsfuehrer-SS emphasized further in this order that the *regional propaganda offices would set the guidelines for this action and that* the state police were only to take protective measures.

Whether the insertions already were in the sworn declaration when Schallermeier signed it, or whether they were put in later, is not ascertainable. Either is possible.

That will astonish no one who knows how "sworn depositions" came to be made about at Nuremberg, and of the danger to life and limb of anyone so rash as to testify for the defense, or to depose for it.

Of the innumerable examples elucidating that statement, here are two from Maser's book, *Nuremberg, the Victors' Tribunal*:

> Witnesses and helpers for the defense, sometimes permanently intimidated beforehand, often are kept away by force [from the witness stand] or, when they are admitted, are turned into witnesses for the prosecution, by the control methods to which they are subjected, or by the confiscation of their statements.
>
> Oswald Pohl, who was not imprisoned until May 1946, was tied to a chair in the course of interrogation by American and British officials, kicked, beaten unconscious and tortured until he was ready to incriminate Walter Funk in writing. SS-General Karl Wolff, who wanted to testify on behalf of Ernst Kaltenbrunner, quickly landed in an insane asylum.[75]

It would be going too far afield to delve further into the practices of the Nuremberg tribunal. Numerous publications have reported that bestial torture of the accused and of their witnesses was the rule rather than the exception. Factually and judicially, the tragedy staged at Nuremberg is worthless. No one can say to what extent documents were genuine, or were forged. The majority were processed in the manner of the Schallermeier deposition: fictitious passages inserted into the original text so skillfully that they escaped notice in a casual perusal. Where that was not practicable, and the document contained material unwelcome to the prosecution, they were not seen again. "Thousands of documents that appeared as though they might incriminate the Allies, and exculpate the accused, suddenly vanished.[76]

In the case of Schallermeier's sworn statement, the principal aim of the defense counsel, Dr. Pelckmann, was attained through its submittal: this document shows clearly that, originating from the Fuehrer and transmitted through Himmler and Heydrich, unequivocal commands were given the police and the SS to suppress anti-Jewish transgressions, and to ensure the safety of the Jewish populace. That the interjected falsifications prejudiced Dr. Goebbels was not of interest at Nuremberg. Goebbels was dead; he could not be hurt by what was said about him at this show-trial. Attorney Pelckmann's concern was the honor of the SS; his evidential material had the sole objective of proving that the German police and the SS were not involved in the *Kristallnacht* disturbances.

We, however, no longer live in the era of the Nuremberg trials. It is time to give thought to historical truth—so often disregarded or discarded in the maneuverings of the trials.

This challenge is particularly significant for the writers of contemporary history for whom it should be possible, after so many years, to furnish an objective portrayal of history. Deplorably, they are far from doing that. Graml, the "*Kristallnacht* expert" naturally mentions Schallermeier repeatedly. He also cites the IMT volume, and the document number, where the sworn deposition could be consulted. But he doesn't let his readers know what Schallermeier really said. From the deposition's three pages, he quotes

just three sentences—as it happens, precisely those that were identified above as having been rendered nonsensical by insertions that distorted them. The Schallermeier declaration, as given by Graml:

> Toward 1 a.m. he (Himmler) returned to his hotel (the "Vier Jahreszeiten") and then at last gave Heydrich an order that stated: "The state police are to be guided by the wishes of the propaganda offices." [An important sentence that, as constituting documentary evidence that Goebbels bears the responsibility for the entire affair.] Himmler then emphasized that the regional propaganda offices were to set the guidelines for the action ... thereupon he dictated a memorandum-for-file to Wolff's personal adviser, SS-Officer Schallermeier, in which all this was set down as being a consequence of his consultation with Hitler, and thus could be considered a Fuehrer-command.[7]

Aside from the fact that a conversation with Adolf Hitler did not constitute a "Fuehrer-command," Graml does not divulge the content of this "Fuehrer-command," nor, therefore, of Himmler's directive, which was "to check disturbances, to protect the Jews and their property." Graml's sole aim—and he says so expressly—is to incriminate Goebbels.

Heydrich's telex message sent to all police units at 1:20 a.m. on the night of November 9/10, 1938 still figures importantly in the Nuremberg records. It is brought forth again in further *Kristallnacht* proceedings before the tribunal, this time, surprisingly, with its original content, but remarkably changed. The passages about the propaganda offices and about Goebbels that had been inserted were no longer there. They were replaced by numerous other embellishments. From the framework of the Schallermeier declaration there was fashioned a sort of intellectual house-of-horrors, as unreal as any evil-fairy tale. This emanation of U.S.-prosecutor mentality will be examined further.

Graml, too, knows of this unlikely twist of the Heydrich telex-message. Triumphantly, he calls attention to it several times. That the second version of the text lacks specifically the parts on which he had built his accusation of Dr. Goebbels doesn't disconcert him.

It is an instance of the unscrupulous writing of history that was denounced further above. Forgeries are manipulated into a text, then only the forged parts are cited. Presto! "Irrefutable documentary evidence!" The rest of Schallermeier's statement, claiming that Wolff went to the Fuehrer's apartment and there met Himmler, is contrary to fact. Possibly Wolff went to look for Himmler there, but he could not speak with him, since Himmler was not with the Fuehrer. The Hitler-Himmler conversation took place only after midnight, as we know from the account of a witness who spent the whole evening in the Fuehrer's apartment.

CHAPTER IX

What Happened in the Fuehrer's Apartment That Night

The Fuehrer's erstwhile air adjutant, Colonel Nicolaus von Below, relates in detail — without the slightest uncertainty, with no "I don't remember" evasions — what transpired in the Fuehrer's private apartment on Prinzregenten Place in Munich. According to him, things happened as follows:[78]

After the dinner in the old town hall, Hitler went to his apartment and retired to his private rooms. The adjutants, Colonel von Below and SS-Senior Group Leader Schaub, stayed in the anteroom until it was time to leave for the midnight oath-taking ceremony at the Feldherrnhalle. At that time, nothing was known of any disturbances, let alone burning synagogues. All was quiet — until we drove to the Feldherrnhalle.

After the ceremony, toward 1 a.m. (November 10), the Fuehrer and his escort went back to the private apartment. In addition to the adjutants, von Below and Schaub, Chief Orderly Heinz Linge and Dr. Karl Brandt were now present. While the gentlemen waited to see if Hitler had further orders for them, or if they were free to leave, there was a telephone call from the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten. Colonel von Below, who was at the phone, was given word that a synagogue near the hotel had caught fire, and an effusion of sparks was feared. The gentlemen should clear out of their rooms because of the danger of fire. After a short while, there was another call from the hotel that put a very urgent face on the matter. Now it was reported also that there were disturbances in the city: store windows were being smashed, and shops plundered.

Schaub went to the Fuehrer and reported these occurrences to him. The Fuehrer immediately ordered the Munich police president, von Eberstein, to his apartment. The police president came at once, and was directed to proceed instantly against looters and arsonists, and to see to it that "this madness be suppressed." Hitler was completely surprised, and extraordinarily upset by these occurrences. The Fuehrer made further telephone calls with other police stations, asked for the present situation and in each case gave the same order: The perpetrators were to be hunted down with all force; the police were

to provide for calm and order. During this time, Himmler presumably also received his instructions.

One of the phone calls was to the staff of the Deputy Fuehrer (Rudolf Hess). From there, at 2:56 a.m., a telex message went out to all regional Party command centers. The text of this communication has been preserved, since it was repeated, in letter form, later that morning (10 November).

[Facsimile on facing page.]

This document is in the Federal Archives in Koblenz under Ref. No. NS-6/231.

The "very highest authority" (to which the message refers) was the Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler. The letter was found partly by chance. It may be assumed confidently that among the archives still held confiscated by the Allies, or in the records that have not yet been catalogued, many more letters of this kind may be found.

If the directive points up only the burning of Jewish businesses, it is because at that time Hitler thought the blazing synagogue in Munich to be a single incident, reports of additional synagogue fires not yet having reached him. In any case, by the formulation "businesses, or objects of that kind", synagogues and other buildings were covered as well.

The fire brigades were ordered to put out synagogue fires, and to protect neighboring houses from spreading flames. While the Party centers were alerted by the Gauleiters, and the SA units were notified by their Chief of Staff, Lutze, before midnight, the police and the SS also had precise orders. That they carried them out is beyond doubt. For that there is abundant evidence.

Police came to blows with looters. Political leaders in uniform tried to disperse disorderly crowds.[79] Fire brigades were in action with all hoses.[80] When Jewish homes were assaulted, and household goods thrown into the street, policemen carried them back into the houses.[81] Where synagogue fires could not be mastered, SS men helped Jews rescue ritual objects.[82] Many Jews — at their own request — were taken into protective custody.[83]

But attacks and arson could not be prevented everywhere. Government and Party leaders were taken too much by surprise to mobilize immediately in the middle of the night. Beyond that, the scope of the demonstrations was absolutely unknown from the outset. When we appraise measures taken then to prevent further incidents, it must be borne in mind that the dimensions which the anti-Jewish actions would assume as the night wore on could not have been anticipated. They began with a few smashed shop windows, then a synagogue set afire — circumstances that, though requiring investigation, represented only individual incidents that gave no substantial cause for disquiet. The first reports were made to the local police; but only when those reports multiplied were higher authorities notified. That this was an action on a grand scale, centrally directed, could be established only over the next few days, when it became possible to survey the damage that was done. By then, it was too late.

If any German authority had the faintest presentiment of the impending events, appropriate countermeasures could have been put into effect. So it turned out, the entire German state and administrative apparatus, as well as the political leadership was overwhelmed by these remote-controlled operations and, above all, by their speed of execution, and were for all purposes neutralized.

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

Der Stellvertreter des Führers
Stab

München 33, den 10. November 1938

An alle Gauleitungen zur sofortigen Veranlassung!

Anordnung Nr. 174/38.

(Wiederholung des Fernschreibens vom 10.Nov.1938)

Auf ausdrücklichen Befehl allerhöchster Stelle dürfen Brandlegungen an jüdischen Geschäften oder dergleichen auf gar keinen Fall und unter gar keinen Umständen erfolgen.

i.A.
Opdenhoff
(Opdenhoff)

Verteiler:
Gauleiter.

[To All Regional Directorates For Immediate Action:

Directive No. 174/38

(Repetition of the telex message of 10 November 1938)

By express order of the very highest authority, arson attacks on Jewish businesses or objects of that kind are not to take place under any circumstances whatsoever.

By order,
Opdenhoff

Distribution:

Gauleiters]

CHAPTER X

Anti-Jewish Incidents

When the events of this night are scrutinized in detail, an overall picture is discernible. To start, there is a telephone call from an unknown person to a local Party or SA leader, district administrator, or other leading personage. The caller identifies himself as "Gauleitung" regional center, "regional propaganda office," or the like. He then asks if everything is still quiet in the locality, if one did not realize that "the Jews were to be beaten up," and so on, in the same gutter jargon. When the astounded and confused recipient of the call asked what was going on, he was told that action was being taken against the Jews, that night, and he was expected to do his part.

Naturally, not all who were called in this manner permitted themselves to be duped. The Landsberg "Kreisleiter," von Moltke, received such a call. Astonished, he asked who was calling; he was answered "Munich regional office." "Who in the regional office?" "The regional office, that should be sufficient for you!" It did not suffice for him; he went back to sleep; in his district all remained calm.[84]

However, other Party leaders got out of bed, dressed, and tried to find out what was up. In many instances, they very soon became aware of disturbances going on. There was the sound of splintering glass, the muttering of many voices and shouting; people stood and stared. When the Party leaders asked around, it was quickly determined that strangers had appeared and started the destruction. People who watched told of small gangs that used crowbars to break open storefronts.

> Another store window is shattered. Five young men are standing in front of it ...they thrust and smash with their crowbars, they work like a precision machine. Not one of them even glances at the people. Their faces show neither agitation nor anger, no emotion, no hate. They are not inciting to action, they are acting. The crowd stands silent.[85]

Inevitably, some parts of the populace soon went along. "The mob's primitive lust for tumult had taken hold" (Graml).

> By the time the local Group Leader intervened, the provocateurs generally had achieved their objective, and had gotten the incidents going. Counter-action by the local functionaries could no longer change the situation.[86]

Only certain individuals, with an innate leaning toward violence, will take part in a pogrom. Politically supported acts of terrorism are not supported by the population as a whole. On the other hand, group violence carries an element of contagion that can infect individuals who normally would never indulge in violence. It is like a hypnotic compulsion that drives people to "work things out of their systems," as it were. Not all people, of course. In contrast to real pogroms, as in Russia, the *Kristallnacht* was almost a good-natured affair (at least so far as the tiny fraction of the German people involved, one way or another, in it were concerned). But maybe it was meant to take a mere sinister course. Had it been expected, and desired, that the Germans would be seized by a blood frenzy, and launch a massacre?

Graml ascribes the participation in riots by people who have absolutely no political motive therefor, to the "dominion of the 'all-too-human'!"

> The masses of the people who gathered during the pogrom did not come to express any political opinion or aversion, they came, in part, just to see a spectacle... A mood arose that had all the marks of mass psychosis, heightened by these deeds of arson and violence. Even people who had become part of the crowd quite accidentally could not escape its influence, and were infected.[87]

Because some simple working class people took part, Graml opines further that the class-war syndrome also may have had an effect. "The involvement of the populace must be understood, in part, as revolt against property, against business and capital, against everything that can be associated with the concept of exploitation." In many ways, the Jewish businessman appeared to the people as a type of anti-social entrepreneur and exploiter.

It was the same in the countryside, says Graml. "The involvement of so many farmers in the pogrom was for similar reasons. It never would have been possible to mobilize the farmers if the Jews had not been held up to them as the clique responsible for their economic misery in the last years of the Weimar Republic. The personal experiences of many farmers seemed to support that thesis. During the depression years, they had become indebted to cattle dealers, private money lenders, and credit institutions in the most oppressive way; many had lost their farms."

Cattle dealing and financing were often in the hands of Jews, so the farmers saw the guilty parties as belonging to them.

Despite the apparent factualness of his psychological rationalizations, Graml's presentation is overdrawn. There was no "pogrom," with masses of people streaming in to support it; nor was the action as extensive as he implies.

There is no desire here to make things look less bad than they were. The occurrences of the November 9th/10th, 1938 do no honor to those who had a hand in them. The *Kristallnacht* was a night of tragedy, without dignity. The transgressions are not made more real, nor do the misdeeds become more reprehensible, by portraying them as scenes stolen from Dante's *Inferno*, as does Graml in what he hopes will be taken for a scientific study:

> Every single Jew was beaten and hunted down, cursed and humiliated.

Relatives and friends were clubbed to death by the SA; many were taken away to prisons and concentration camps.

The SA men pulled the Jews out of their beds, beat them mercilessly, with finely-honed skill while they were still in their homes. Jews who had been forewarned were hunted through the streets of the cities until they were half dead. They were dragged from their refuges, and from the shelters provided for them by neighbors and friends. A pitiless hunt for everything Jewish swept through the streets. Jews were being beaten, and blood flowed, everywhere. Wherever the police were quicker, they had packed the male Jews off to prison, where it might happen that the SA men broke in and forced their way into the cells, where they indulged themselves in another orgy of beatings.

But there wasn't only beating and looting; there was rape and murder. SA threw Jews into the water and drowned them; they struck their victims until they died; they shot them and stabbed them, driven by hate or by sadism, but always led on by the vengeance-chants of their leaders.[88]

These lurid scenes are emanations of Graml's diseased imagination; they have nothing to do with the facts. It is bad enough that individual transgressions should have taken place. It is of no help to those who were affected if the wrong done them is afterward exaggerated to the point of unbelievability and, precisely because of that, made questionable.

After 1945, a number of judicial proceedings was started to identify and punish those who had taken part in the transgressions. Although most of those proceedings dealt with events in small localities, one is struck by the fact that everywhere, in every single case, the same testimony was taken, again and again: Persons unknown to them, strangers to the community were either the ringleaders or the instigators of the disturbances.[89]

Naturally, there were exceptions; in one case, a former SA man was named; however, he had been suspended in 1934, because of his bad repute, with the objective of expelling him from the Party. In November 1938, he was one of the ringleaders. In another case, a "roving SS band" played a part; its commander was a mental patient. The tenor of by far the greatest number of court verdicts was that the identities of the principal actors could not be determined, since they were persons not known to the witnesses.

It is not claimed that no Party leader, no SA man took part in the disturbances for reasons of his own. That would be nonsense. There surely were many with anti-Jewish sentiments who vented them that night by joining in the transgressions. The issue is not the participants, but the ringleaders and the instigators of the anti-Jewish demonstrations. All signs point to a foreign control center. In no other way can the chronometrically concerted operation be explained.

CHAPTER XI

Dimensions of the Damage

Up to a few years ago, all modern publications dealing with that time avow that during the *Kristallnacht*, "all" the synagogues in Germany were burned; "all" the Jews were assaulted; display windows of Jewish shops "everywhere" were smashed. These sweeping statements were repeated uncritically, without commentary, by the media. But, to this day, we have no exact tabulation of the damage.

Three different "damage reports" are cited in the literature:

1. A report alleged to have been made by Heydrich to Hermann Goering on November 11, 1938.
2. Parts of the largely destroyed minutes of a meeting at the Air Ministry on November 12, 1938.
3. A report of the Party Supreme Court to Goering of February 13, 1939.

Each of these documents refers to the damage that was done and gives numbers. These numbers differ; in one case, a higher number of destroyed synagogues is claimed; in another, there are more demolished shops; in another, a larger number of dead. The writers of contemporary history, in their evaluations of the three different reports, choose the highest figure in each category as the "right" one and, hence, the one to be cited forevermore. No one seems to be troubled by this doubtful historical research.

I. Heydrich's Report of November 11, 1938 to Hermann Goering

This report was written on the letterhead of the Chief of the Security Police to Minister President General Field Marshall Goering. The original cannot be found. According to the stories contained in the IMT volumes, there was only a "copy" on hand at Nuremberg; this "copy" had been made on an English typewriter; it bears no accreditation, except at the lower edge of a sheet marked "page 2" (which is, in fact, "page 3") where one finds the annotation "CERTIFIED TRUE VOPY" (we shall assume that by "VOPY" they meant COPY). Who did the certification, or on what basis, is not clear. We cannot claim, then, that the content of this "copy" corresponds to the original — if such ever existed.

The document, as we have it, reads: According to reports that have come in until now, the following damage occurred:

815 business establishments destroyed;
19 burned or otherwise destroyed department stores;
171 burned or destroyed dwelling houses;
191 burned synagogues;
76 demolished synagogues;
20,000 Jews taken into custody;
36 fatalities; 36 seriously injured.

The report is signed "Heyer," without indication of rank or function.

This paper has some very curious aspects. The format of the transcript implies that it is a verbatim copy. However, several items don't fit. A report by Heydrich to Goering never looked like that.

The masthead of this report reads [in English translation]:

8 Prince Albrecht St.
Berlin S.W. 11.11.38
Telephone: A2 Flora 0040

SECRET

Chief of the Security Police
II B 4-5716/38 g
In replying please indicate the reference and date above

Express Letter

To

The Minister President

Field Marshall General Goering

To the attention of Ministerial Director Dr. Gritzbach

Berlin W. 8
Leipziger St., 3

Several observations:

1. The letterhead is obsolete; it was not in use in November 1938. The telephone number, listed at the right, went out of use in March 1937, a year and a half before November 1938. In March 1937, the Berlin calling system was reorganized, named exchanges eliminated and subscribers assigned six-digit numbers. Heydrich's office connection was 12 00 40. Official letterheads would have shown the new number from then on. Even if it were contended that — perhaps for reasons of economy — the old letterheads were used up first, the old number would have been deleted, and the new one rubber-stamped in its place. Still, it may be posited that a year and a half after the change new letterheads would have been issued. In the event, the letterheads used by Heydrich in November 1938 were different than that of Nuremberg IMT "copy."

2. In 1938, the security police was not an independent agency; there was only a "security police main office" (Hauptamt Sicherheitspolizei). This was answerable to the Reichsfuehrer-SS and Chief of the German police in the Reich Ministry of the Interior (Heinrich Himmler). The letterhead used by Heydrich bore that designation. Heydrich did not sign as "Chief of the Security Police and the Security Service" until after the establishment of the "Main Reich Security Agency" [Reichssicherheitshauptamt] on September 27, 1939.

3. The address indicated for Hermann Goering is incorrect; his office was in the Reich Air Ministry, Leipziger Strasse 7, not 3. Leipziger Strasse 3 was the location of the Reich Ministry for Religious Affairs directed by Reich Minister Hanns Kerrl. The post office would have delivered the letter despite its wrong address, but would a secretary have made such a mistake?

4. The least credible part of the document is the signature, "Heyer." Letters not signed personally by the director of the agency or office, in this case, Heydrich, were signed customarily by his deputy, Dr. Best. Just a written name, without further identification, or indication of position, and lacking the obligatory notation *gez.* [sgd] attesting to a valid signature, has to be regarded as a fraud.

Our genteel historians could not fail to be struck by the queer signature. Without exception, this document is claimed to have been "Heydrich's" report to Goering, and the "Heyer" is changed by them into "Heydrich."[90] In a publication of the "Provincial Center for Political Education," Hamburg, the signature is shown perhaps still more perplexingly as "K. Heydrich."[91] (Heydrich's Christian name was Reinhard.)

An organization one would think especially devoted to the truth, the "Evangelical [Lutheran] Working Group Church and Israel in Hessia-Nassau" accomplished the feat of publishing a facsimile of the Heydrich report. To be sure, it had to be drafted anew for the purpose, and the Evangelical reprint does not resemble the paper in the IMT records.[92]

II. Minutes of a Meeting in the Air Ministry, November 12, 1938

On November 12, 1938, the Deputy for the Four Year Plan, Hermann Goering, called a conference to which representatives of all ministries and departments concerned with the emigration of the Jews were summoned. In regard to this conference, we are interested at the moment only in Heydrich's answer to Goering's question: "How many synagogues, in fact, were burned down?" Why Goering asked that question is incomprehensible, since he should have gotten "Heydrich's" report the day before. Be that as it may, Heydrich replies, "Altogether 101 synagogues destroyed by fire; 76 synagogues demolished; 7500 stores destroyed in the Reich."[93]

What is noteworthy about Heydrich's reply are the statistical changes. On November 11th, Heydrich had written Goering that 191 synagogues were burned; the next day he tells Goering there were 101, thus saying that

altogether 177 were destroyed; the day before he had reported, in writing, a total of 267. On the other hand, when Heydrich tells Goering on November 12th that 7,500 stores were demolished, that was an inordinately higher number than the 844 total in his report November 11, 1938.

The number for the synagogues might be a typing error in Heydrich's November 11, 1938 report: 191 instead of 101, so that this latter figure, told by Heydrich to Goering on November 12th, would be correct. There might also be an explanation for the much higher number of demolished stores — a total of 844 on the 11th; 7,500 on the 12th: further damage reports could have come in during the previous day. All this is on the premise that the "Heydrich" letter-report November 11, 1938 is authentic.

III. Report of the Party Supreme Court to Goering of February 13, 1939

To arrive at the number of dead, contemporary historians draw on this report of the [National Socialist] Party Supreme Court that, toward the end of November 1938, began an investigation into the incidents committed during the *Kristallnacht*. The Court found that altogether ninety-one cases of manslaughter were said to have occurred.

Unfortunately, the present author is unable to consult the original of the Court's findings; it is in the Berlin Document Center and not accessible to non-Allied nationals. A microfilm of the Court's report is in the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich, where the author could view it. A request to borrow a copy of the film was refused because, the Institute said, of the poor quality of the film. As it was, attempts at deciphering the text were permitted only through a reading apparatus, precluding the necessary closer examination for genuineness.

Summation:

The following listing — though questionable in every respect — represents all we have in the way of the *Kristallnacht* damage statistics:

Shops and department stores demolished: 844, or 7,500;

Synagogues destroyed, by burning or demolition: 267, or 177;

Fatalities: 91, or 36.

The number of Jews said to have been taken into custody, including those who asked for police protection, wavers, according to the source, between 35,000 and 10,000. There is general agreement that most were released the next day.

As was already pointed out, these dubious figures are the only basis for determining the extent of the damage. It is a curious fact that to this day [1991] the Jews have not attacked or even "corrected" Heydrich's damage figures. With their manifest tendency to magnify every injury done to them by National Socialism, that is indeed noteworthy. It is also foresighted. The door is kept wide open for more imaginative claims to be presented later, based on the affirmation that "all the synagogues were destroyed, and all Jews in

Germany deprived of their means of livelihood."

This advantageous position was exploited by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress when, in 1952, he demanded *five hundred million dollars* from the Federal Republic of Germany for the reconstruction of the synagogues, and other Jewish establishments destroyed or damaged during the *Kristallnacht*. To the diffident protest of Foreign Office Undersecretary Hallstein that a demand for so vast a sum should have some juridical justification, Goldmann retorted cynically:

> You find the juridical justification, or not. I want the money, not the justification.[84]

When Adenauer joined the discussion, and apparently saw no reason to hand over a half-billion dollars, Goldmann observed:

> Five hundred million dollars is a smooth, round sum to which nobody will have any objection.

It is needless to add that this argument convinced Adenauer.

With this authoritatively pronounced Jewish predilection for smooth, round numbers, the incessant recital of "6,000,000" should cause no wonderment.

Even assuming — as Heydrich told Goering on November 12, 1938 — that 177 synagogues were destroyed, was that "all", or even "most" of, the synagogues in Germany?

In 1938, there were still some 1,420 synagogues in Germany. One hundred seventy-seven is neither "all", nor "most", nor even a large fraction, but about twelve percent of the total number of Jewish houses of worship in Germany.

Beyond question, the destruction of even one synagogue would have been a disgrace. However, when assessing the scope of the *Kristallnacht*, there is an enormous difference between the assertion "all the synagogues in Germany were set ablaze," and the factual statement, "of the 1,420 synagogues in Germany, 177 fell victim to the anti-Jewish manifestations of that night." The numerical relationship is similar in relation to the Jewish shops that were demolished. The 7,500 reported by Heydrich on November 12th would have been out of a total of some 100,000 Jewish shops and department stores in Germany in 1938.

CHAPTER XII

Destruction of Synagogues

In general, the destruction of synagogues weighs more heavily than the ravaging of shops and homes. That follows on the principle that a house of God should be immune against all attack, and from the belief that only wholly uncivilized bandits would desecrate a holy precinct. That follows in turn from the Christian concept of a house of God. "Church" derives from the Greek "Kyriakon" = "belonging to God." The sacred nature and the consecration of a Christian church rest on the claim that it is a place that belongs the deity. This holy character is intensified in Roman Catholic churches where, the faithful believe, God is actually present on the altar.

In this respect, a synagogue is not to be compared with a Christian church. A synagogue is a house of teaching and prayer, a "schul" (school) as it is called in Yiddish. The only house of God, in the Christian sense, the Jews ever possessed was the Temple in Jerusalem. Since its destruction in 70 A.D., the Jews have not had a holy place. The holiness of the Temple passed on to the Christian churches.

Even during the time of the Temple, there were synagogues outside of Jerusalem; they were assembly halls and schoolrooms — purely secular structures. Naturally, such rooms might be specially decorated, if only because of the presence of the Torah scrolls that are kept there. The Torah, the holy scripture of the Jews, is written to this day on scrolls, not in books, and is read during services. Later, in Europe, and even more so in the United States, synagogue edifices began more and more to resemble Christian churches, which in no way alters the fact that a synagogue is not a "Jewish house of God," but an establishment similar to a communal hall or a school. Smaller Jewish communities that often didn't have a synagogue building, used any convenient living room, used all day by the family, for meeting and prayer.

Even a profane house of prayer has a certain consecrated nature, and many nonbelievers would not define the "sacredness" of Christian churches in any other sense. Still, to our Christianized sentiment, evolved over more than one and a half millennia, desecration of a church is a uniquely infamous act.

For the Jews, the destruction of scriptural scrolls was far more painful than

the devastation of the buildings, and the only real desecration, since a scroll of the Torah is as sacred as the word of God written on it. The scroll's holiness is based on the name of God contained in the Holy Writ, the mysterious tetragram, the four letters with which the Hebrew Bible paraphrases the name of God, a name so sacred that it may never be spoken aloud by a Jew.

Torah scrolls that have become unusable may neither be destroyed nor discarded. They are stored in a separate room, or ceremoniously buried underground in a chest sealed against dampness and worms.

Torah scrolls, taken from their enclosures, thrown into the dirt, torn, scorched, presented a terrible sight to devout Jews on the morning of November 10th, 1938.

In logical consequence, a half-burned, torn Torah scroll, symbolizing the injury and shame done the people of Israel, is exhibited at the entrance to the Yad Vashem memorial in Jerusalem. In the opinion of a Jew, the very worst he can do to his enemy is destroy his sacred scriptures. This attitude is made clear also in the Talmud, which cites a Rabbi Tarphon as saying he would rather lose his sons than not seize every opportunity to burn the holy writ of Gentiles.[95] However, this demeanor of a Jewish scholar does not excuse those who carried out these senseless acts of destruction.

CHAPTER XIII

New "Documentation"?

In concluding this section, attention should be called to documentation that came to light in the years before 1980. Seemingly, it struck even the Jews that the number of 177 destroyed synagogues reported by Heydrich looked silly in the face of their endless emphatic insistence that "all the synagogues were set alight." Consequently, it was time to "improve" this number. The task was undertaken by a Mr. Adolf Diamant of Frankfurt/Main. He published — in time for the fortieth observance of the *Kristallnacht* in 1978 — a 225-page documentation, *The Destroyed Synagogues of November 1938 — A Survey.* In the first edition, Mr. Diamant arrived at the impressive figure of 1,200 synagogues and "prayer rooms" (private rooms that could serve for a small assemblage). As Mr. Diamant told the present author, this first edition was sold out immediately, but a second edition was planned for 1979. This second edition that came out six months later asserted that, in fact, 1,800 synagogues (and "prayer rooms") were destroyed by the Nazis that night. It may be conjectured that an eventual third edition will elevate the number to 2,400. Asked how his claims can be squared with the facts, Mr. Diamant does not answer. In 1933, there were 1,571 synagogues and "prayer rooms" in Germany; in 1938, some 1,420 were still in use. Because of emigration, and the move of small congregations to large cities, many synagogues closed of themselves, were diverted to other uses, or were sold.

A closer scrutiny of Mr. Diamant's listing is rewarded by some astonishing discoveries:

a. He lists every room that may have been used once as a room for prayer or teaching (synagogue). In this way, every true synagogue is counted at least twice, since prayers on weekdays are not usually offered in the big synagogue, but in an adjoining small room. Beyond this, every single common room, in a school, in a hospital, in an old people's home, and in the innumerable Jewish associations, is counted as a synagogue.

b. In Diamant's listings there are also found "synagogues" that in 1938 had long ceased to be such. Comparing his "documentation" with a 1933 yearbook shows that about twenty percent of the synagogues named by Diamant, in

1933 no longer existed, either because no more Jews were in the community, or because they had been closed down for other reasons.

c. Diamant's notations about the individual synagogues: "demolished," "burned," "torn down," "diverted to other use," "sold," etc., say nothing about when that synagogue ceased to function or to exist.

While Diamant titles his "documentation," *The Destroyed Synagogues of November 1938*, he himself gives the lie to that heading, where he indicates, e.g., "demolished before Nov. '38; "burned in 1936;" "dwelling house since 1934," and so on.

Further, the possibility cannot be excluded that among the synagogues listed as "destroyed" by Diamant were some that were damaged by acts of war.

Diamant's whole presentation gives the impression of being a blatant enumeration of every Jewish place of prayer that ever existed in Germany and today (when the Jewish community has shrunk to a tenth of its former size) is no longer in use. In any case, this has no discernable connection with the events of the *Kristallnacht*.

This "documentation" evoked more skepticism than applause also among those whom it more properly concerned. Despite the sensational nature of Diamant's assertions, not a single one of the many Jewish publishing houses in West Germany would touch it. He published it himself, with financial help from — the Berlin Senate! (And from two Jewish communities.)

CHAPTER XIV

The Other Heydrich Telex

When discussing Schallermeier's sworn deposition about the message Heydrich ordered sent to all police agencies at 1:20 a.m.on November 10, 1938, it was remarked that this message, though in gravely altered form, still played a certain part in the Nuremberg trials. In the meanwhile, its text had undergone so great a transformation that — in regard to the *Kristallnacht* — it became one of the most incriminating documents ever employed against the accused.

What the prosecution presented, however, was not an original genuine telex message, but an alleged copy, in typewritten form, on white typing paper, no letterhead, no accreditation, no written notation, no signature. The sole implication of authenticity is a red-ink rubber-stamp "Geheim" (secret), in German-Gothic typeface, at the upper right of the first sheet.

A reproduction of this "telex message" follows. The word "copy" in the heading is part of the document itself; it does not refer to the copy offered here. The "telex message" extends over three and a half pages; the individual page numbers are given in parentheses.

The text reads:

Geheim!

Copy Of The Express Telex Message From Munich
Of November 10, 1938 1:20 a.m.

To all: State Police Directorates and State Police Agencies

To all: SD* Higher Sections and SD Lower Sections

Urgent! Hand immediately to the Director or to his Deputy!

Subject:

Measures against Jews during this night.

Because of the assassination of Legation Secretary Rath in Paris, anti-Jewish measures tonight are expected throughout the Reich from the 9th to 10th of November, 1938. For the handling of these occurrences the following directives are issued:

1) Directors of State Police agencies or their deputies are immediately upon receipt of this message to telephone the political leadership - Gauleiters or District Leaders —responsible for their regions to arrange a conference — in which the appropriate Inspector, or Commander of the local police (Ordnungspolizei) will take part — on the carrying-out of these demonstrations. At this

(Page 2)

conference the political leadership is to be informed that the German Police has received the following orders — to which the measures of the political leadership were to be harmonized — from the Reichsfuehrer-SS and Chief German Police

a.) Only measures that do not jeopardize German life or property may be taken (e.g., synagogues may be burned only where there is no danger to the surrounding area).

b.) Jewish shops and homes may only be destroyed, not looted. The police are ordered to ensure compliance with this directive and to take looters into custody.

c) In shopping streets special care is to be taken that under all circumstances non-Jewish shops are kept safe from damage.

d.) Foreign nationals — even when they are Jews — may not be molested.

2) On the assumption that the guidelines laid down in (1) are followed, the ongoing demonstrations are not to be stopped by the police, who are only to keep the observance of the guidelines under surveillance.

3) Immediately upon receipt of this message, the archival material on hand in synagogues and business establishments of Jewish-cult communities is to be confiscated by the police so that it will not be destroyed in the wake of the demonstrations.

(Page 3)

The concern here is for historically valuable material, not recent tax lists, etc. The archival material is to be handed over to the appropriate SD duty office.

4) The direction of Security Police measures in regard to the anti-Jewish demonstrations rests with the state police agencies insofar as the inspectors of the security police do not issue orders. To carry out the measures of the security police, officials of the criminal police, members of the SD, the reserve troops and the general SS can be called upon.

5) As soon as the course of events of this night permits the officials assigned to this task to act, as many Jews from all districts — in particular, well-to-do ones — as can be held in the available detention facilities, are to be taken into custody. To begin with only male Jews of not excessive age are to be taken. Upon completion of the arrests, the appropriate concentration camps are to be contacted at once for the fastest possible reception of the Jews into the camps. Special care is to be taken that the Jews arrested under these orders are not mistreated.

6) The content of this order, together with the addendum that the Reichsfuehrer-SS and Chief

(Page 4)

of the German Police ordered these police measures, is to be transmitted to the appropriate Inspectors and Commanders of the Security Police, and to the SD higher section and the SD lower section.

The Chief of the local police (Ordnungspolizei) has issued appropriate orders to the local police including the fire brigades. In carrying out the measures that have been ordered the closest cooperation between security police and local police must be maintained. Receipt of this telex message is to be confirmed per telex by state police chiefs or their deputies to the secret state police (Gestapo) office to the attention of SS-Standartenfuehrer Mueller.

Sgd Heydrich
SS-Gruppenfuehrer

*SD-Sicherheitsdienst-Security Service

Format of the "Telex"

It is evident at first glance that this "Copy of the Telex Message" does not bear much resemblance to the text that, according to Schallermeier's sworn deposition, Heydrich sent out to the police on the night of November 9/10, 1938.

To begin with, there is the format of this queer "Telex message."

Inasmuch as these pages, or sheets, were presented at Nuremberg as a substitute for the genuine article, they should have reflected the original in every detail of format and verbiage. When a message is sent by telex, certain distinguishing marks are used: there is a specified method of indicating time of dispatch, and a characteristic manner of composing the text. A telex printer has only capital letters; it does not have the single "sz" character, nor the diaeresis for the "Umlaut" pronunciation-change. [Transl. Note: Each is a peculiarity of German and essential to the written language.]

The text normally is compact and cursive; in any case, it is not drawn up like a letter. This would have been apparent in an exact copy.

What was presented at Nuremberg as the "Copy of the Express Telex Message" is in no way a true copy of what was transmitted but, at most, only of some of the text.

Additional questions arise:

1. The document is stamped "SECRET" (GEHEIM) in German "Gothic" typeface. The document is thereby meant to be regarded as having been prepared (and stamped "Secret") in a German government office, which is not so. The style of writing is not in any way like that used in a German office.

a. Instead of the "sz" (that, in German, is a separate, single letter) "ss" is used throughout, except in the first word under "Subject": Masznahmen (measures), which has the German "sz." That this was thereafter changed intentionally to "ss" for the body of the message cannot be accepted, for then the diereses (over the a, o, and u) would have been dropped, and that was not done.

b. Punctuation. In German, commas and periods follow directly, without

interstice, on the preceding word, after which there is an interstice before the following word. This is not done in the "telex message" copy.

c. A hyphen, for the separation of syllables, is attached, without an interstice, to the foregoing syllable. In the "copy of the telex message" that is not done either. Correct spelling and punctuation are practically instinctive in a trained German secretary. That this "copy of the Express Telex Message" with its irregular punctuation, applied in unusual form, was prepared by a German secretary is out of the question.

2. If the "copy" was not meant to deceive one into mistaking it for a German document, it should not have been stamped "SECRET" in German, but designated properly as an Allied document.

3. Lastly, the key question, as with all copies of documents: Where is the original from which the copy was made? There is no reference to it in the IMT volumes, nor is there any hint of where the "copy" was found.

Content of the "Telex"

As has been remarked, the content shows hardly any similarity to what Schallermeier said about the instructions in question. Despite that, it may be interesting, and instructive, to look more closely at this content, and to try to determine to what extent the text has a logical basis at all. It was Himmler's clear command that the police and the SS were to prevent disorders, or suppress them with the utmost speed; beyond that, they were to protect the Jewish population and its property. The phraseology of the copy, its contradictory and foggy wording, rendered in three sections, allows the assumption that the genuine text was used as a basis, but was so distorted and falsified as to state the total opposite of the original. This forgery is in any case no masterpiece.

To start with Item (1): The State Police directors are to telephone the Chiefs of local police and the Gauleiters, or the District Leaders, to arrange a conference. Its purpose was to reach agreement *on carrying out anti-Jewish demonstrations.*

The telex message was sent at 1:20 a.m., and reached the recipients at the same time. Now a series of people — State Police officers, local police commanders, Gauleiters, District Leaders — were to be gotten out of bed and summoned to a meeting. In turn, the gentlemen in question, to get to the conference site, would have to awaken their drivers. All that would have taken time, so that they would hardly been able to get together, at a conservative estimate, before 1:50 a.m., at the earliest. Then the meeting would have started, the individual points of the telex message would be discussed, the measures considered, their practical application weighed. That would have meant another half-hour, if not more, before plans for anti-Jewish demonstrations could even have been worked out. By now, it would have gotten to be 2:20 a.m., at the earliest, on the morning of November 10th. Only then would the conferees have been able to issue their orders, to awaken and notify yet other

people — those who would take part in the demonstrations. If the action had been cooked up in this fashion, it could not have gotten under way before 3:00 a.m., or, more realistically, considerably later.

But that's not the way it was. What has gone into the history books as the *Kristallnacht* began on the evening of November 9th and was over by dawn the following morning, November 10th, 1938. It had started hours before the telex message, with its alleged instructions for organizing anti-Jewish demonstrations, was dispatched, and many hours before its "directives" could have been put into effect.

Item (1) poses another problem, in addition to the chronological one: The State Police chiefs were to have asked the Gauleiters to a conference. On that special night, the night of November 9/10, the Gauleiters were in Munich or on the way home; since they were neither at home nor in their offices, they could not have been phoned. Heydrich would not have given such absurd instructions.

Item (1) by itself shows the "telex message" to be inconsistent with the actual circumstances and occurrences of the night of November 9/10, 1938 and nonsensical in general.

Nor are the other items distinguished by unusual clarity about the "directives."

While Item (1) says the police are to act in concert with the political leaders in carrying out the demonstrations, Item (3) has it that the police should no longer carry out the actions, but merely refrain from hindering them.

Item (1) (b) prescribes: "Shops and homes of Jews may be destroyed . . .", but obviously even that is not an order to the police, because the police are simply to keep the demonstration "under surveillance"; who is to perform the demonstration is not made clear.

Item (2) is especially opaque: "On the understanding that the guidelines laid down in (1) are followed...the police are only to keep the observance of the guidelines under surveillance." Does this mean that the police were to keep the observance of the guidelines under surveillance only when the guidelines were being followed?

Item (4) declares that the direction of all anti-Jewish measures rested with the State Police agencies; thereby Himmler alone is implicated; there is not a word about Reich Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels. That is interesting indeed. It was pointed out earlier that in the altered version of the "telex message," the parts involving Dr. Goebbels (recognized to be insertions in the Schallermeier declaration) had been removed.

That, too, supports the argument that the forgers possessed, and altered, Heydrich's original telex message. Evidently, no one thought of the Schallermeier declaration, or the "editors" were not aware of it. In consequence, it is only Himmler and the SS who are responsible for the *Kristallnacht* — a version absolutely contradictory to the real events; insofar as uniformed groups took part in the tumult, they were SA, not SS. When Item (4) then goes

on to say that the direction of the actions was in the hands of the State Police agencies, insofar as no orders are issued by Security Police inspectors, that makes no sense, either: the Security Police were a *division* of the State Police and belonged to the "State Police agencies."

Item (5) indicates that, once again, the unhappy State Police chiefs don't know what is expected of them. First, they were to pick up only well-to-do Jews (who, as a rule, tend to be older). But the next sentence stipulates healthy males of not too great an age. After the arrests are completed, the State Police agencies are to contact the "appropriate" concentration camps. That reads as though every town, every locality, in Germany had a particular concentration camp. That is remote from reality.

Item (6) is a senseless repetition of what is contained in (1). The telex message went to the State Police agencies, and to the SD higher and lower sections, all of who would have received it automatically. The local police commanders and inspectors were to be called to the conference ordered in Item (1). Item (6) requires that this leadership group be notified once again by telex. Are they then to report to themselves on this matter?

The last section of the "telex message" instructs that confirmation of receipt of this circular message — sent by Heydrich from *Munich* — should be reported to *Berlin* — yet another sign that the text is a fantasy-concoction unrelated to the actual occurrences of the night of November 9/10, 1938. Why should the confirmations have gone to Berlin, to the attention of Heinrich Mueller, who, at that time, was no more than a small functionary, an insignificant department manager in the police administration? His ascent to Chief, Agency IV, in the Reich Chief Security Agency (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) came after the founding of that agency on October 1, 1939.

The signature, "Heydrich, SS-Gruppenfuehrer" is consonant with the style of this product of the forger's art. When Heydrich gives the State Police an order that entails Security Police measures, he doesn't do that as "SS-Gruppenfuehrer," but as "Chief of Security Police." All his telex messages that have not been falsified are signed "Chief of Security Police — Heydrich."

To try to determine the original text of this telex message, one has to resort to guesswork. There isn't much sense in that. In any case, what is fully clear is that the Fuehrer — in front of witnesses — gave orders completely contrary to those proffered by the copy of the "telex message," and that Himmler never would have contravened these straightforward orders, much less pass them on, inverted, to Heydrich. Of this alleged telex message, that would have gone to hundreds of police duty stations, not a single original has ever been presented. Is one expected to take for granted that they were all lost? Or are the telex messages with the genuine, unforged wording among the many papers that "were disappeared" in Nuremberg? The red-ink rubber stamp "GEHEIM" (secret) on the "copy" of the alleged telex message manifests it to be a forgery intended to be accepted as a genuine document.

CHAPTER XV

The "Mueller Telex" and Other "Documents"

The people at the forgery factory must have thought "double is twice as good" when they presented yet another version of the "Heydrich telex message," the text diverging only in minor ways from that cited previously. If the content of the Schallermeier declaration is counted, this is the third version. This third fashioning of the text is particularly interesting less for its content, that conforms to what has been quoted, than for the company in which it finds itself. At the IMT in Nuremberg it was presented under one number with three other "documents," two of which will be examined more closely.

The first of these two is another "telex message," also noted with enthusiasm in the relevant literature. It was dispatched over the signature of SS-Standartenfuehrer Heinrich Mueller, that Heinrich Mueller of the Gestapo in Berlin to whom the confirmations of receipt of Heydrich's telex message were to be sent. Allegedly, Mueller sent his telex at 11:55 p.m. on November 9, 1938, i.e., almost one and one-half hours before the Heydrich telex went out. Its content corresponds to a considerable extent to that of the Munich message. The Mueller telex message, too, was addressed to all State Police agencies, but those who concocted this message overlooked the fact that on November 9, 1938 Heinrich Mueller had absolutely no command authority over all State Police agencies, unlike Heydrich. Mueller does not refer to an order by the Reichsfuehrer-SS as authority for his circular telex message, but acts on his own responsibility. Moreover, his directives are pretty foggy; without going too deeply into specifics, Mueller's message calls for "immediate measures," "appropriate measures," "sharpest measures," and "speediest measures." Each official was left to himself to figure out what all that was supposed to mean.

The text reads:

Berlin No. 234 404 9 Nov. 2355

To all State Police offices and all State Police agencies

To Directors or Deputies

This telex message is to be submitted immediately in the most rapid way.

1. Action against Jews, particularly against their synagogues, will take place within a very short time. They are not to be hindered. However, in cooperation with the local police, it is to be seen that looting and other special excesses suppressed.

2. Insofar as the synagogues have valuable archival material, immediate measures are to be taken to secure it.

3. Preparations are to be made for the arrest of some 20-30,000 Jews in the Reich. Above all, wealthy Jews are to be selected. More precise directives will be issued in the course of the present night.

4. If in the course of the coming actions Jews are found in possession of weapons, sharpest measures are to be taken. Special operations groups of the SS, as well as the general SS, can be used for the over-all action. By appropriate measures, State Police direction of the action is to be secured in every case.

Addendum for State Police Cologne:

The Cologne synagogue has especially important material. This is to be secured by speediest measures in cooperation with the Security Service.

Gestapa II Mueller

This telex is secret.

What peculiar German of convoluted syntax and bloated verbiage Mr. Mueller is purported to have spoken! It can be regarded only with amazement.

Looking at just the most conspicuous of the stylistic monstrosities, we sense the odor of bad translation. *[Trans. Note:* i.e., *from English into German, to fabricate the document.]* "...immediately by the most rapid way..." is silly redundancy, as is "special excesses," as though in a civilized society excesses weren't of themselves unusual, or "special." Sometimes a verb is put at the beginning of a sentence; this is not a characteristic of German.

[Transl. Note: The author's foregoing language critique obviously will be less apparent to the reader of this American edition for whom, it is hoped, the text of the document has been made more intelligible, if not more intelligent.]

In the four paragraphs of the brief text, "measures" are required four times, and four times something is to be "secured."

How is this to be interpreted: "...arrest of some 20-30,000 Jews in the Reich."? It should have gone without saying that the German police couldn't arrest anyone outside the Reich.

The reference to "especially important material" in the Cologne synagogue is senseless. Firstly, there was not "a synagogue" in Cologne; there were three. Secondly, there was no "especially valuable" material in any of them. Dr. Zvi Asaria, who later was rabbi of the Cologne synagogue congregation, and in 1959 published a comprehensive work, *The Jews in Cologne,* himself wonders about this remark, and cannot explain it.

Heinrich Mueller, who is proffered as the author of this preposterous nonsense, for years was a department head in the police, and held the rank of

senior government counsellor (Oberregierungsrat). Is it logical to believe that fools like the one(s) that made up this stupid "telex message," incapable of writing their own native language correctly were promoted to senior government positions? Dr. Zvi Asaria, already mentioned as a rabbi of Cologne, among the countless documents in his book reproduces the "Mueller telex message," and comments: "That is how the document looked that put an end to the claim that in the many cities it was a matter of spontaneous popular uprising in revenge for the murder in Paris of Embassy Counsellor vom Rath by the Jew Grynszpan."[96]

To know exactly how the document really looked, the original — at least the original of that presented at Nuremberg — must be scrutinized. A German telex message cannot be found in this instance, either. A scientific researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich declared that in not a single case in which an original document was of significance in the Nuremberg trial can the whereabouts of that document be ascertained. It may be surmised that most of the papers were given back to German agencies, a part probably is in Washington, another part possibly in Nuremberg. Most probably, some papers were destroyed. Many were in very bad condition; besides, one is told, they were really superfluous, since, after all, there were "certified copies" in the Nuremberg trial records. In any event, whatever is printed in the IMT volumes is said to conform one hundred percent to the original texts.

If that is so, a look at the "Mueller telex message" printed on pp. 377/378 of IMT Volume XXV is in order.

It is a part of American prosecution document 374-PS. As is customary with all Nuremberg documents, 374-PS has a small table of contents showing what is in the document. The contents listed for 374-PS are: "Secret telex November 9, 1938 from Gestapo II Mueller to all State Police agencies and State Police offices concerning planned anti-Jewish actions, particularly against synagogues; secret express telegram November 10, 1938 to all Stapo agencies and Stapo offices concerning anti-Jewish measures that same night, and further orders in regard to anti-Jewish actions (Exhibit US-729)."

The accompanying "description of supporting documents" — also customary with all documents submitted by the prosecution — reads: "Reproduction-incomplete rendering. There is an * in lieu of an English-Language table of contents for the following consecutive printed pages — signature and certification entries in ink."

The document, viz., American exhibit US-729, entered in the Nuremberg records as 374-PS is described as:

1. Reproduction
2. Incomplete rendering.

The incomplete rendering is explained to the extent there is an asterisk (*) in the document. This * replaces an English-language table of contents. This * is placed above the "Mueller telex message." Since it certainly wasn't the Gestapo's practice to put English language tables of contents at the head of its

telex messages, this * by itself is key evidence that the "Mueller telex message," in the form in which it was presented at Nuremberg, was anything but the original of that message. Nevertheless, this telex message with its table of contents in the English language is the "evidence" that constitutes Exhibit US-729 - prosecution document 374-PS.

An unbiased citizen may be of the opinion that exhibits in courts of law are documents that, in some way, but beyond doubt, are evidence of the guilt of the accused. Normally, he would think in terms of original written documents, properly verified, as constituting evidence, if not proof, of the truth of the charges in question. In the Nuremberg trial, it was extremely rare that documentary exhibits were originals. In the vast majority of cases, they were unattested "duplicates" or dubious "copies"; in most instances, the "documents" were devised by one or another of the victors. In other words, the "evidence" that was presented was none; under civilized law it was less than worthless — it was perjured.

Document 374-PS contains a collection of documents all concerned in some way with "anti-Jewish measures." Three of these documents, the "Mueller telex message," a further text of the Heydrich telex message, and a police radio message, deal with the occurrences of November 9, 1938. Astonishingly, there is a fourth document in 374-PS, a circular letter of the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party) of the Koblenz-Trier region of 7 June 1933. What moved the American prosecutors to combine these four papers as *one* prosecution document cannot be discerned. The only connection between them is that all four were written on the same blank forms and bear the symbol DE 411. These alphanumerics do not refer to the utilization of these documents as a U.S. exhibit since that, as is known, was given number 729; neither do they refer to its serial insertion into the Nuremberg records, because number 374-PS had been assigned for that purpose. DE 411/DIS 202 has a different meaning.

Who assigned the letters and numerals is indicated at the head of the form on which the four documents are written, as is shown here.

Restricted

Supreme Headquarters

Allied Expeditionary Forces

Psychological Warfare Division

Intelligence Section

Reference: DE 411/DIS 202

Disseminated by PWD 14 May 1945

The following material has been released by SHAEF authorities for

Background Information

For use of particular items apply to Intelligence Section PWD.

N.B. The English text is not a translation but the original version of the heading of each German document.

The Psychological Warfare Division was the Allied propaganda division. It was engaged — years before the war, and then also after the war — in the production of fake reports, spurious documents, falsified presentations of actual occurrences, and lies in general. Its wartime assignment was to undermine the morale of the enemy, i.e., the Germans, shake their confidence in their leadership, incite them to resistance against their government. Prof. Dr. Friedrich Grimm left a record of a conversation that took place after the armistice in 1945 with a leading member of the PWD. When Prof. Grimm voiced the thought that, in the interest of peace and the coexistence of peoples, it was time to stop the hate propaganda, the answer was: "No! We are just beginning! We shall continue the atrocity propaganda, we shall intensify it until no one has a good word to say for the Germans, until all the sympathy you have enjoyed in other countries is destroyed, until the Germans are so addled that they no longer know what they are doing."[97]

The threat has been carried out in minutest detail. The invitation to apply to the Allied PWD Intelligence Section for use of particular items was followed extensively, as may be ascertained easily by looking through the IMT archives. One of those exhibits is the fourth document in Nuremberg file 374-PS, the circular letter of the NSDAP Koblenz-Trier region of June 7, 1933. Even without the letterhead of the Psychological Warfare Division, that documentary curiosity is recognizable as a product of that center of forgery. Its author is alleged to be a regional propaganda director. That is strange, since the propaganda people had at least a perfect command of the language, it being the main instrument of their profession.

Here is the text of that ominous letter (the style corresponds exactly to the original):

[Transl. Note: The following translation from the terrible German of the original is meant to show the abysmal style — and even presumably Yiddish sentence structure — of this forgery.]

National Socialist German Workers Party

Koblenz-Trier Region

Section: Propaganda Koblenz-Trier 7 June 1933

To all District Administrations

Re: List M-18 Fight Against Jews No. 2

In the next days there will be going out to you a collected list of the localities in your district in which you will find listed the Jewish businesses and firms in your district. You will immediately want to recheck in your whole district region whether the listed addresses are correct, or individual ones are forgotten. The greatest value is to be put on exactitude since the list will be put into print.

Re: Fight against Jews.

The district administration selects a committee to direct and watch over the localities over the whole district region. The size of the committee is determined by the district director. You are to repeat the named committees immediately to the regional propaganda administration. The regional propaganda office will then contact these committees through you.

Provisional task of the Committees

The committee in all locality-groups and support-points will form subcommittees whose names are to be known only to the district committees. The members of the subcommittees will report to the district committee the names of Party members and other Germans, principally officials, who purchase things from Jews. The district committee reproduces letters whose content is so [sic] that it admonishes the missing folk-comrades on the shamefulness of their deed and makes them aware of the shame to which they would be exposed if they would be arraigned in public. This letter must be so set up that only the address of the addressed person, the business and the time in which he effected his purchases must be inserted. The letters bear no signature and are mailed from different post offices. Further the committees are immediately to secure salesladies from Jewish stores who can then very easily name the people who buy in Jewish businesses. But that presupposes some skillfulness and is to take place in extreme secrecy. The names of the salesladies are in no case to be named. It is to be communicated with the "Militant Union of the Professional Middle Class" (Kampfbund fuer den gewerblichen Mittelstand) that it make the means for this action available and obliges itself to place the salesladies, without naming their names to them, but only the number of the same, in case of eventual discharge into other stores of equal worth.

The district administration in all membership meetings, but also in public meetings is to call attention to the fact that the Jew in all countries once again has started a very dirty fight that damages Germany tremendously. It is to be made clear to the masses that no German may buy from a Jew. Also it is to be demanded of the Party union that always and ever again this be held up to their friends and acquaintances. The Party cooperative must in the interest of the nation go so far that they terminate friendship with the best acquaintances when they continue to buy from the Jew. It must come so far, and that is expressly to be indicated that no German, if it does not somehow have to be, speaks with a Jew.

German girls who associate with Jews are provisionally to be made aware of the shamelessness of their action. A member of our organization may in no case enter into relations with such a person.

Heil Hitler!

Bang

Regional Propaganda Director

In the face of this gibberish, it is hard to decide whether to be outraged at the brazen impudence of this so-called "circular letter," or to laugh at the stupidity of forgers who are incapable even of writing decent German, or of following grammatical or syntactical rules. Its content corresponds to the anti-National Socialist line being fed the world since the days of National Socialism's bloody struggle against Red revolutionaries; in other words, it is beneath discussion.

Among the devices to work up hatred against National Socialism at the time

were "Brown books." The first, put together by the noisome Communist, Willi Muenzenberg, replete with documents, photographs, and lists of persecutees, set the pattern for the rest. Perusing any of them makes their technique of lie and calumny readily apparent. They may be regarded as the precursors of the IMT records.

Since then, objective investigation has shown the "documentation" and the photographs in these "Brown books" without exception to be forgeries.

The findings that the "Brown books" are, in reality, falsifications, are supported by the "Lexicon of 20th Century History and Politics," whose publisher, Thilo Vogelsang, is Deputy Director of the Institute of Contemporary History, Munich.

Undeterred by all the professional evidence against it, certain cliques cling to the "Brown book" documentation to this day. It was brought out again by a West German Communist publisher in the latter 1970s. In it are numerous papers that in style and content resemble the NSDAP Koblenz-Trier Region "circular letter" June 7, 1933. Therefore, a glance at the make-up, beginning with the letterhead: The first sheets of NSDAP stationery were imprinted "National Socialist [German eagle symbol] German Workers Party" *[Transl. Note: The correct German for "Workers Party" is "Arbeiterpartei," one word, not two, as in the IMT document.]* Instead of "Region Koblenz-Trier, the letterhead should read properly "Regional Administration-Koblenz Trier." There was no "Propaganda Section" in a region; the designation of the propaganda function is inaccurate.

Circular letters would have been directed to a particular personages, *e.g.*, Attention: District Director, not to a general list. In the event, the use of "you" and "your" in the body of the letter would suggest that an individual were being addressed. The whole structure of the letterhead is rubbish, and of itself proof that the "circular letter" is a fake.

As to the text: The regional administration announces a "collected list." Aside from the fact that there is no such thing in German, the process would have been the other way around. It is not the region that would have supplied the District with addresses, but rather the District would have furnished them to the Region.

What kind of committee is it that "over the whole district region has to direct and watch over the localities"? Or, "a subcommittee whose names may be known only to the district committee"? Did these subcommittees have names of their own? And those names "may" be known? "Party members and other Germans" — that was the way the writers of the "Brown books" like to put it. Or, in the last part, "masses" (Massen) and "Party co-operative" (Parteigenossenschaft), terms not commonly used in Germany. There was no talk of "masses" in the Third Reich, and the Party was not a co-operative or a trade union.

Where were the missing "folk comrades"? Were they just away at the time, or is it that, embarrassed by their shameful deeds, they "went missing"? The

committees are to "secure" salesladies. "Secure" is evidently one of our copywriters' best loved words: but in this case, didn't they want to say, "gain the confidence of salesladies"? How to determine the "equal worth" of the stores in which the discharged salesladies are to be accommodated in new positions? By sales volume? By type of merchandise? The general tone of the place?

Beyond that, such a requirement would have overtaxed completely the resources of the "Militant Union for the Professional Middle Class." This was not an employee organization and it had no job referral service. It was an association of professional people and craftsmen to promote their influence in chambers of commerce and trade guilds. Moreover, in 1933, it was undergoing a personnel crisis, and could not possibly have undertaken such a commitment. Even the circular letter's bizarre injunction: "It will be communicated with the Militant Union..." would not have endowed it with the necessary capacity.

On the whole, one cannot but wonder about Regional Propaganda Director Bang. And that all the more when it is learned that he never existed. The Koblenz-Trier regional propaganda director from 1932 to 1937 was named Willi Michels. Then, how did they get the name, Bang? Well, in the Koblenz-Trier regional administration there was a Party member named Bang. He was not propaganda director, but director of the German Labor Front. So "Bang" as Propaganda Director can only be the result of poor observation, or bad memory, on the part of an informer; the forgers swallowed the false information whole.

Only some of the more egregious incongruities of the "circular letter" have been pointed out above. Attentive readers undoubtedly will uncover others.

[Transl. Note: The "circular letter" contains a sentence: "The letter must be set up so that only the addresses...must be inserted." The purported German original is given as: "Dieses Schreiben muss so abgestellt sein, dass nur die Adressen eingesetzt werden muessen." As the author notes, "abgestellt" means "shut off" (as a motor), or "set down" (as on a shelf). In the context of the "circular letter," it is ridiculous. The author gives the right word that the forgers, essentially ignorant of German, didn't know: "abgefasst," that I have rendered as "set up."]

Thus, the NSDAP "circular letter" of June 7, 1933 is another product of the Allied Psychological Warfare Division's forgery factory, as are the Mueller and the Heydrich "telex messages."

Barely six days after the armistice, on May 14, 1945, the "background documents" were released. This, while the genuine papers and documents that were found were confiscated, and simply packed, uncatalogued, into wooden crates and stored. Often it was months before they were even looked at, and roughly sorted; the PWD's "background material" reached the collection centers at once and was indexed immediately.

The biggest American document collection center was in Paris, under Colonel Robert G. Storey. He marked "PS" (i.e., "Paris Storey")[98] the papers he sifted and sent to Nuremberg as U.S. exhibits.

All important Nuremberg prosecution documents are marked with their serial numbers, as is document 374-PS mentioned above. An overview of the prosecution documents by the American prosecution authorities was facilitated by the fact that Colonel Storey at the Paris document center was also a U.S. prosecutor at Nuremberg.

When the Nuremberg trial began, everything had been neatly put together. Legitimate actions that were declared retroactively to be criminal; newly invented crimes with shiny, brand new laws made especially for them; and, of course, the fabricated evidence to support these phenomena. All was meticulously arrayed in thousands of files on the prosecutor's table. Another "Hoax of the Twentieth Century," to apply here the apt title of an American professor's scholarly work on the "Holocaust."

CHAPTER XVI

The Role of the Brownshirts

The SA *[Transl. Note: Sturmabteilung, familiarly, in English, "Brownshirts"]* was the revolutionary fighting element of the National Socialist movement. It stemmed from the time when freedom of assembly in the face of other political groups could be secured only by using one's fists. In the 1920s and 1930s Communist street gangs introduced into political contests a climate of brutality theretofore unknown in Germany. Political opponents were not talked to death, they were beaten to death. Confronted by this method of campaigning, the bourgeois parties had to give way, and they did give way, completely. It was National Socialism alone that, as Dr. Goebbels put it, "took to the streets" and adopted the thug tactics of the Communists that could face up to them and, in the end, beat them.

The rightist combat troops of that time were the SA — the "Brownshirts" — mostly strong, young, unemployed men who, in the truest sense of the word, achieved the National Socialist victory with their fists, and for it paid the highest price with their blood. Sorrow and anger over comrades who had fallen in this struggle intensified the spirit in which they fought.

When Adolf Hitler was named Chancellor of the Reich, the National Socialist revolution was concluded. Other rules than those which were obtained on the path to power came into play for the reconstruction of the state. That may not have been relevant for many SA men, in whose opinion there were still "enemies" enough in Germany. They had not learned, and did not want to learn, any way of fighting other than the direct one. Out of consideration for his old comrades whose fighting had accomplished the victory of National Socialism, Hitler at first declined to disband the Brownshirts altogether. Only after the Roehm affair, in June 1934, did the Brownshirts share the historic fate of revolutionary troops whose usefulness ended with the triumph of the idea for which they had fought and suffered. Most of the men of the brownshirted corps found sensible outlets for their excess physical strength in one or another of the numerous SA sport associations. But the SA continued to attract men who were inclined more to physical action than to mental effort.

Thus, the Brownshirts were also the group most receptive to calls for

violent action against the Jewish population.

All the testimony we have is to the effect that the orders — whether they forbade action or directed that action be taken — given on the night of November 9/10, 1938 were transmitted by telephone. This made it easy for the provocateurs to insinuate themselves into the chain of command and, by pretending to speak in the name of higher authority, give orders to burn and to destroy. In a few instances, it might even have been an "overzealous" Brownshirt leader who initiated the destruction; either before Lutze's directive got through to him, or because he chose to ignore it. Of all the twenty-eight Brownshirt units, just three are known to have taken part, in one way or another, in the demonstrations. In addition, a number of individual Brownshirts and SS-men subsequently were arraigned before the NS Party Supreme Court.

During the proceedings, one question was examined and re-examined: How could orders to initiate demonstrations, orders that ran counter to standing instructions, ever have been transmitted? In its verdict the Party Supreme Court found that wherever a transgression occurred, there must have been a misunderstanding somewhere along the line of command. The fact, brought out in proceedings after 1945, as in post-war Munich, that orders had been given by persons falsely claiming to speak for a Party or a Brownshirt authority, was not investigated at the time.

A document submitted by the U.S. prosecution at Nuremberg gives evidence of a striking case of this kind: Report of SA (Brownshirt) Brigade 50 "Starhemberg" in Darmstadt of November 11, 1938 to SA Group Kurpfalz in Mannheim. This report is signed by Brigade Leader Lucke; it begins:

> On November 10, 1938 at 3:00 a.m. I received the following order: 'By order of the Group Leader all Jewish synagogues within Brigade 50 are to be blown up or set on fire immediately.
>
> Neighboring houses that are inhabited by Aryan population may not be damaged. The actions are to be carried out in civilian clothes. Mutinies and plunderings are to be suppressed. Report of accomplishment of mission to be made to the Brigade leader or to the duty officer by 8:30 a.m.' The regimental commanders (Standartenfuehrer) were alerted by me at once and given the most exact instructions, which they began carrying out immediately. I herewith report the destruction of:

There follows a tabulation of the synagogues demolished in the Brigade 50 area during the night of the 9th to the 10th of November 1938.

The original report, signed by Lucke, was on hand in Nuremberg.[99] Since this is the first authentic looking document, as such, in connection with the *Kristallnacht* that we have encountered, it deserves prominence. The U.S. prosecutor did not make clear how he came upon this document. It would naturally be of interest to know who preserved it so carefully for eight years and then, just at the right moment, passed it to just the right people. The idea that precisely this document, out of the one thousand one hundred *tons* of documentary material "captured" by U.S. troops in Germany, should have

been discovered, more or less at random, seems, to say the least, somewhat improbable.

Could the person who took care that the report was not destroyed be the same one who transmitted the "order of the Group Leader"?

West German courts from Darmstadt to Wiesbaden, occupied themselves with the Lucke report, and the anti-Jewish actions associated with it, from 1946 to 1952.

If we want to use the verdicts pronounced by these courts as sources for writing a scenario of events in which Brownshirt Group Kurpfalz and its subordinate brigades were involved, the following occurred:

It will be remembered that the Brownshirt Chief of Staff, Victor Lutze, was at the "old comrades" dinner at the old town hall in Munich on the evening of November 9th/10th, 1938. After Dr. Goebbels had spoken of instances of violence in Hessia and in Magdeburg, Lutze called together the Brownshirt leaders who were present and ordered them to telephone their duty offices at once that Brownshirts "were not to take part in actions against Jews or against Jewish establishments, and to place guards at places where incidents had already taken place, to prevent further damage or looting."[100]

The leader of Brownshirt Group Kurpfalz, Herbert Fust, was there when Lutze gave his command. Like the other Brownshirt leaders, Fust went to the telephone immediately and relayed the command to his duty office in Mannheim.

This fact was ascertained by a West German court. In support of a decision in a proceeding against Herbert Fust, the court stressed specifically that it was convinced that the Brownshirt Chief of Staff had in fact given this command to prevent anti-Jewish actions to the brownshirt leaders who were present at the dinner in Munich. Fust's assertion that he — like the others — had telephoned that command to his duty office could not be refuted. The court believed him, and found him not guilty of the charges of inciting to arson and of breach of the peace.[101]

This far, all would seem to be clear: Chief of Staff Lutze issues a specific command to the Brownshirts to refrain from participation; the Brownshirt leaders present at the dinner phone this order to their duty offices. Naturally, former Group Leader Herbert Fust could not remember fourteen years later, in 1952, with whom he had spoken that night when he phoned from Munich. (It seems that only "survivors" and certain other professional witnesses — always given prior guarantee of immunity against prosecution on perjury charges — are endowed with the miraculous memory that gives them instant, total recall including the most banal trivia, even a half-century after the alleged occurrence; a memory that time does not wither, nor custom stale, but rather is enhanced with each new "Nazi war crimes trial.")

But, in Mannheim, something mysterious happened: Fust's command came in, was taken down, acknowledged by telephone — and disappeared. In its place, another command surfaced, and was held forth as a "directive from

Munich." It was the "order for the destruction of the synagogues," cited above. Who in Mannheim accepted the "destruction order" could not be determined. In violation of the customary practice in the case of incoming telephone messages, to take down the date and hour, the identity of the caller and of the recipient of the call, and the import of the message, there was only an anonymous piece of paper in the Brownshirt group duty office in Mannheim, and it is questionable whether that paper has any connection with telephoned command. Maybe this command was not given by telephone? Maybe Group Leader Fust's order was simply changed into the "destruction order"? In that case, who made this change? Logically, only the man who was on telephone duty that night, and was therefore the sole witness to the completely different wording of Group Leader Fust's command could have done it. Unfortunately, the West German courts neglected to look for that man.

Brigade Leader Lucke, of Brigade 50, as senior Brownshirt leader in the district, was Fust's deputy in Darmstadt. It would have been the obligation of the man on duty to report an incoming order to the Deputy Group Leader immediately. The man on duty slyly kept from doing so. Perhaps Lucke should have looked more penetratingly into the origin of this absurd command to destroy synagogues? Maybe he should have called Munich and questioned the order (as did other Brownshirt groups after they had received the same order). He did not feel up to questioning orders. In consequence, Lucke was notified only after the whole action had been underway for hours, at three o'clock in the morning of November 10th. It is only too understandable that Lucke gave up any idea of phoning Munich; the situation was beyond salvaging.

The first person to be notified in Mannheim was Brownshirt Senior Leader Fritsch. He reported to the duty office where he — as the only one! — was shown a transcript of the "order from Munich." His consternation was so great that he never even thought of investigating. He was convinced that the order had come from the Group Leader, since only he could give orders to the group, as he said in court later on. Fritsch, then, was the only witness to know of the existence of this paper with the "order for the destruction of synagogues." Aside from him — and the man on duty, of course — no one saw this written order. It disappeared without trace after it had effected its purpose. The other witnesses in the proceedings against Fust declared only that they had "heard about it."

Fritsch was quite helpless in the face of the problem posed by this order and asked the District Leader and his Deputy to come to the Brownshirt duty office for a conference.

In the meanwhile, the man on duty continued to telephone around the region. His next victim was Brigade Leader Kraft of Brigade 150 in Mainz. He, too, believed in the authenticity of the directive and passed it on to his regimental commander. Other Brownshirt brigades were then notified — always with reference to the "directive from Munich," and only at the very last

was Lucke, leader of Brigade 50 in Darmstadt informed of the directive that he cites in his report.

Who was the man on telephone duty in the Mannheim Brownshirt group who accepted the command? From whom did he receive the directive for the destruction of synagogues? Did he see to it that Lucke's report — the original report — was preserved so that it might be presented at Nuremberg?

We cannot answer these questions. We know only that the duty office of Brownshirt group Kurpfalz in Mannheim was not alone that night in receiving an anonymous "command from Munich" that called for anti-Jewish action. The call to the District Leader of Landsberg/Lahn, and the call to the district leader of Hanau, allegedly from the "Regional Propaganda Office" were mentioned. A caller, who afterwards could not be identified, alleging an order by SS Sturmbann III/25, alerted SS Unit 10/25 in Geldern. The provocateurs of the day before who had called for violent action were joined by other unknown callers who telephoned fake orders "from higher up" to Party and Brownshirt duty offices to ensure the success of the action.

It may be a cause of wonderment that such excesses could be brought about by telephone calls and other demands for action by persons unknown. In the event — although some Brownshirt leaders elsewhere questioned the similar "commands" that had been transmitted to them — in every single case those in the Mannheim Brownshirt Group who received Group Leader Fust's (falsified) "Command" believed it to be a regular order, and carried it out.

Since this sector of German contemporary history so far has been denied objective research, only careful reflection, based on logical construction, enables us to arrive at a realistic conclusion about the origin of these "commands," "orders," and "directives." Thus, the fact that "orders from higher up" were used as a deception, logically prompts the conclusion that in reality, there weren't any "orders from higher up." Reasons and counter-evidence supporting this thesis have already been set forth in some detail.

CHAPTER XVII

Extent and Effect of the Destruction

Attention has been drawn more than once to the fact that the reports about the *Kristallnacht* now circulating are highly exaggerated, and convey the false impression that the events of that night affected, or at least touched *all* segments of the Jewish population. In reality, the transgressions were no more than sporadic; only a few towns and smaller localities were troubled by them at all. Even in large cities, as in Berlin, where numerous shops were demolished, and synagogues set on fire, as late as the morning of November 10th large elements of the population knew nothing of what had happened during the night. The rector of the Jewish Middle School in Oranienburg Street, Heinemann Stern, reports that it was not until the lunch break that the school's exclusively Jewish teaching staff, was informed of the occurrences. He had noticed a burning synagogue as he rode past it on a suburban train. The pupils of the school had appeared in full number, and had no knowledge of the happenings of the night before,[102] further evidence that most Jewish families were completely untouched.

Where acts of destruction did occur, the populace, Party leaders, and police frequently came to blows with the demonstrators. Thus, two Brownshirts who had smashed windows of a Jewish apartment, saw themselves surrounded by men of the neighborhood who set upon them and beat them mercilessly.[103]

Insofar as the people observed the destruction, or learned of it later, condemnation of the ruffians who perpetrated it was universal; there was no sympathy with these acts.

The so-called "eyewitness" reports circulated today affirm that the people were cowed and intimidated; they stood mutely and looked on passively. That may have been so in the case of individuals who are timid by nature, and easily frightened; it is not true of the great majority of those Germans who, in one way or another, came into contact with the events of the *Kristallnacht*. There is ample evidence that people of the neighborhood, as well as Jews, defended themselves vigorously, and were by no means under the impression that the incidents were ordered "from higher up," and therefore had to be suffered in silence.

Nor is it true, as is asserted so often, that the Jewish population lost its

confidence in the constitutional state overnight. For example, a 13 year-old Jewish girl who was being sexually accosted by a Brownshirt who claimed to be a criminal-police officer had the presence of mind to run from the house and ask a uniformed police officer for help. The Brownshirt was arrested. In the ensuing trial, the girl's accusations were accepted completely, the Brownshirt's defense rejected. He was sentenced, and expelled from the SA.[104]

In another case, the 73-year-old head of a Jewish congregation went to the police on the morning of November 10th; he demanded an official survey of his demolished synagogue, and a police deposition. Two criminal-police officers accompanied him to the synagogue, verified the damage, and drew up the deposition.[105]

Participants in the demonstrations who could be identified were reported to the police. In cases of more severe transgressions, the NS Party Supreme Court, as well as the Civil Courts, took action. The culprits were expelled from the Party, and from the SA, or — in cases of less serious infractions — reduced in rank. Inside the Party, it was endeavored to keep word of the judicial proceedings from getting to the public; the Party was ashamed of its dishonorable members.

In the event — and this must be stressed once again — only a handful of individuals were involved. While it is impossible to determine a precise number, practically it has to be far lower than those implied by the free-wheeling stories we are told. Estimates of the number of demonstrators range from a total of five thousand to a total of seven thousand. The higher estimate would represent barely 0.001% — one-thousandth of one percent — of the German population at the time. If one wanted to proceed from the supposition that the demonstrators were all Brownshirts (which, of course, was not the case), they would have made up less than 0.015% (one and a half hundredths of one percent) of Brownshirt enrollment.

These numerical comparisons should aid in seeing the *Kristallnacht* in correct perspective. This does not imply minimizing or prettifying the events. That anti-Jewish transgressions took place at all is lamentable, and is in all cases to be condemned. Still, the scope, and the significance of the acts — even when taking account of their instigation from outside — were far less than what is asserted about them today.

CHAPTER XVIII

After the *Kristallnacht*

Dr. Goebbels went back to Berlin from Munich that night. As Gauleiter of Berlin, he was impelled to return home. On the way to the main Munich railroad station, he drove past the burning synagogue. His companion, Dr. Naumann, chief of Dr. Goebbels' ministerial office, tells about it:

> Dr. Goebbels was horrified, as will be understood from his comment: "So that's what the Munichers think National Socialism is?! They are, and will remain, a stupid lot...."[106]
>
> At the time of our departure from Munich the full scope of the actions was not known. At the principal stations en route our press adjutant received the latest reports. By the time we got to Berlin, we had learned of transgressions of considerable scope, including the Reich capital.
>
> When we arrived in Berlin in the morning (of November 10th), we were met at the station by Goerlitzer (Deputy Gauleiter of Berlin), who reported on the occurrences of the previous night. Dr. Goebbels was outraged in the extreme. That he did not hide his indignation was the more unpleasant, since he had by now been recognized by other travellers, who stopped in his proximity. It took some effort to persuade the disputing gentlemen to continue their loud discussion in the waiting automobile.[107]

In Berlin, Dr. Goebbels hurried directly to the Propaganda Ministry and issued a pronouncement to the people:

> The justifiable and understandable outrage of the German people at the foul and cowardly Jewish assassination of a German diplomat was vented to a great extent last night. The entire population is now called upon strictly to desist immediately from all further demonstrations and actions, of whatever nature, against the Jews. Definitive answer to the Jewish assassination will be made by the law, or by decree.[108]

It was inevitable that certain foreign press organs should pounce gleefully on the events of what they described as "Pogromnacht" and published the most feverish reports. What their correspondents saw in Germany will forever be a mystery; what they wrote is psychotic hallucination:

> "...hordes, howling and screaming, moved from store to store ...," "...the crash of roll-shutters being broken open ...," "...smashed windows and overturned furniture, intermingled with screaming jubilation ...," "...all the synagogues in Germany, without exception, were set on fire ...," and so on, and on.

On November 12, 1938 Dr. Goebbels published an article, "The Grynszpan Case" in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* (Popular Observer), and pilloried especially the hysterical North American press. Indeed, the U.S.A., in particular, was in the least favorable position to occupy itself with anti-Semitism elsewhere. In 1938, unemployment in the United States was at its worst. Hand-in-hand with the economic failure went a fierce hatred of the Jews.

> The Jews were said to be guilty of America's downfall. The anti-Semitic tide rose in the rural districts of the South, where the inhabitants saw themselves forced under the economic yoke of the cities, in particular, New York. Since Jews played a significant part in the cities, and there, in turn, in their financial establishments, they furnished a welcome scapegoat. They were blamed for the economic disaster the cities had brought upon the rural regions.[109]

Immigration was made more difficult for Jews; they were ostracized socially; certain clubs and associations denied them membership; numerous resorts and spas were closed to them; the notice "Jews Not Wanted" was to be seen at countless places; Jews were excluded from certain professions and trades.

A general pronouncement of the Foreign Ministry in Berlin of January 25, 1939 on "The Jewish Question As a Factor of German Foreign Policy in 1938" said:

> Press and official reports from North America constantly mention anti-Jewish demonstrations by the populace. It may be symptomatic of internal political developments in the U.S.A. that the audience of the well-known anti-Jewish oriented radio priest Coughlin has risen to twenty million.[110]

In January 1939, Jerzy Potocki, Polish Ambassador in Washington, sent his government in Warsaw a report on the effect of the *Kristallnacht* in America. It says:

> The present mood in the United States is distinguished by a steadily growing hatred of Fascism, particularly of the person of Chancellor Hitler and everything connected with National Socialism. The propaganda is principally in the hands of Jews. They own practically 100% of the radio stations, the film industry, the newspapers and the periodicals. Although the propaganda is put very crudely, and Germany is made to look as bad as possible — religious persecution, and the concentration camps, especially, are exploited — it is nevertheless thoroughly effective, since the local population is completely ignorant, and has no idea of the situation in Europe. At the moment, most Americans consider Chancellor Hitler and National Socialism to be the worst evil and the greatest danger hanging over the world.
>
> Further, the brutal treatment of the Jews in Germany and the emigration problems constantly fan the prevailing hatred against everything connected with German National Socialism. Individual Jewish intellectuals take part in these actions, e.g., Bernard Baruch; the Governor of the State of New York, (Herbert) Lehman; the newly appointed (associate) Justice of the Supreme Court Felix Frankfurter; the Treasury Secretary (Henry L.) Morgenthau; and others, who are personal friends of President Roosevelt. They want the President to lead the fight for religious freedom, for human rights, for freedom of speech and to punish troublemakers in the future.

This group of people, that occupies the highest positions in the American government and would like to appear as the representatives of "true Americanism" and "defenders of democracy," nevertheless, fundamentally is tied by unbreakable bonds to international Jewry. For this Jewish Internationale that, above all, has the interests of its race at heart, putting the President of the United States into the position of an "idealistic" defender of human rights was a genial move. In this way they have created a very useful hotbed of hatred and animosity in this hemisphere, and have split the world into two hostile camps. The basics with which to animate American foreign policy, and at the same time to produce the colossal quantities of military supplies for the war towards which, fully consciously, the Jews are striving, have been put into Roosevelt's hands. For internal politics it is very convenient to divert the attention of the American public from the constantly growing anti-Semitism by talking about the necessity to defend religious and personal freedom against attack by Fascism.[111]

CHAPTER XIX

Cui Bono?

As time passed, Dr. Goebbels, naturally, must have asked himself, over and over, whether these commotions really erupted spontaneously among the German people, or whether they may have been instigated and organized by powers that still remained hidden. These thoughts must have come to him especially as the well-synchronized nature of the demonstrations became apparent. A man of Goebbels' intelligence must have conjectured, and with the privileged knowledge of the mentality of his people, must have deduced that the whole action had been orchestrated. But by whom? By some fanatical enemy of the Jews? Or, maybe, by the Jews themselves?

In 1938, certain Jewish-Zionist circles were trying by every means to induce Jews to emigrate from Germany to Palestine, to reinforce the Jewish communities already there, and to improve the economic base of the "Yeshuv," the collective of Jewish communities in Palestine.

In a volume of Jabotinsky's writings published in Vienna in 1938, he uses the term "propitious storm" for occurrences that make life in their host countries so unbearable for Jews that — driven by the events — they choose emigration to Palestine. "This 'storm', however terrifying it may be, blows the Jewish ship in the direction in which we ourselves want to guide it."[112]

While Jabotinsky writes later on that the occurrences — which ones is left unmentioned — in National Socialist Germany had rather the effect of a hurricane, that wasn't so unwelcome to him either, just as long as it drove the Jewish ship to Palestine. For the same reason, he is gratified by the fact that the gates of other countries remain closed to the Jews coming from Germany:

> The banished of the new Third Reich, like refugees fleeing a beleaguered city, see before them not open doors, but iron chains. We Zionists, whose goal is the Jewish State, with clenched teeth will be the first to rejoice in this, in the interest of Zionism.[113]

Those who pulled the strings of the *Kristallnacht* might well have come from partisans of such an ideology. In this connection, it is interesting to note here, that in 1970, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, looking back on 1938, assessed the Zionist leader, Chaim Weizmann:

> I do not think it should be excluded from consideration that Weizmann said

to himself: "I will achieve my goal to rebuild Zion, and found a Jewish State, only if I am willing to allow great sacrifices to give an impetus to the course." I believe he nurtured the idea of creating victims.[114]

For the Zionists who shared the thought processes of Jabotinsky, anti-Jewish demonstrations at the beginning of November 1938 were especially opportune. A brief look at the circumstances attending the development of the Jewish communities in Palestine at the time will make that understandable.

Massive immigration of Jews into Palestine began in the last decades of the nineteenth century. At first, the indigenous Arabs had not the slightest objection to Jewish settlement. On the contrary, they were beneficiaries of the advantages derived from it. To a large extent, the land belonged to Turkish "effendis" (gentlemen), who hardly cared about its cultivation. When the Jewish settlers arrived and bought the land from the Turks, swamps were drained, plantations established, settlements built, and the beginnings of an industry created. The Arab population worked together with the Jews in the agricultural settlements and profited from the incipient economic boom.

As the years passed, the Great Powers of the time became aware of the importance of Palestine to global politics, and began to take an interest in what was happening there. During the first World War, British troops occupied Palestine which then, as we have already indicated, belonged to Turkey, an enemy. Present-day Syria — then also belonging to Turkey — was occupied by the French.

To win the support of the native population, Great Britain promised the Jews, and then the Arabs, British support in setting up a national state. This double promise to the Jews in 1917, to the Arabs in 1919, is the primary cause of the disturbances and the wars that have been wracking the area ever since.

After the 1914-1918 war, the League of Nations gave Britain a mandate with the stipulation that it provide for a national homeland for the Jewish people in that country. Serious difficulties soon arose between the British Mandate government, and the Palestinian population. Thereupon, true to the English maxim "divide and conquer," first the Jews, then the Arabs, were favored. Nor could a feeling of hostility between the two population groups fail to develop. The Judeo-Arab conflict began waves of Jewish immigration, Arab revolt, British restrictions on Jewish immigration, formed a vicious cycle within which British Palestine policy was carried on over the following years. Confronted by the outcome of their devious behavior, the British had finally to announce the failure of their mandate.

In the summer of 1937, a special commission under the direction of Lord Peel worked out a scheme to divide the country, with the aim of having Jews and Arabs each hold a separate part that each group would administer. The representatives of the Jewish side, the Zionist organization under Weizmann and Ben Gurion agreed to this proposal — albeit with substantial reservations. They saw in it a possibility of having a territory of their own that one day would be sovereign, and for which there could be no restrictions on the immigration

of Jews. The Arabs, however, brusquely rejected the scheme.

The result was more disturbances and revolts. In Europe, the English began preparing for the Second World War. Palestine appeared important to them as a strategic crossroads. What they needed now, under any circumstances, in that country, was calm. In an attempt to maintain peace and order, a new High Commissioner, Sir Harold MacMichaels, was installed in March, 1938. MacMichaels acted firmly; two British divisions put down the revolts. At the same time, he promised the Arabs, whom he held to be the more important part of the population, that he would undertake to have Jewish immigration stopped, and to have Britain give up its plan to partition Palestine.

At the beginning of October, 1938, he took those recommendations to London. After some discussion, the British government agreed to his proposals. For the Jews, this seemed to mean the end of all hope. Just now, when they needed a land for immigration more urgently than ever, Palestine was to be closed to them.

Among the Jews, there were feverish discussions as to how this fateful decision of the British government could be impeded. The government's decision was to be published on November 8, 1938. The possibility, at least, cannot be discarded that certain groups among the Jews felt, or hoped that the English government would think again if it suddenly — and on its doorstep, so to speak — experienced an anti-Jewish pogrom.

The murderous attack on vom Rath on the 7th, sending provocateurs into Germany on the 8th, setting synagogues on fire on the 9th, fit very neatly into this scheme of things.

The hope, if it ever existed, was vain. The British watched the spectacle impassively, delayed for a day the announcement of their decision, and on November 10, 1938 published a resolution abandoning definitely their partition plans.

A limitation, tantamount to stoppage, of immigration, was adopted, at first internally. It was published in the *British White Book* of March 1939.

CHAPTER XX

Conference in the Ministry of the Interior

A session at the Ministry of the Interior on December 16, 1938 dealt with the *Kristallnacht* and its consequences. A man who took part in this conference, the former governing mayor of Hamburg, Carl Vincent Krogmann, published the minutes of this meeting, which he still has, in his book of memoirs, *Germany's Future Was At Stake.*[115]

These minutes reveal how the Jewish question was treated on the highest government levels: beyond all polemics, with calm objectivity, and great consideration, Mr. Krogmann writes:

> On December 16, 1938 there was a conference of the Interior Ministry, attended by numerous ministers, many gauleiters, senior directors of government agencies and departments, and by me, and the representative of Hamburg in Berlin, deputy of the senate Eiffe. The minutes of this meeting, as set down by the deputy of the senate Eiffe, follow.

The minutes extend over several pages. Only passages of particular pertinence to the theme of this book are given:

> The minister [Reich Minister of the Interior, Dr. Wilhelm Frick] then spoke about the details of the night of November 9th/10th. Everyone knows that as a result of the Jewish murder in Paris there was tremendous outrage among the German people. There can be no doubt of that, but there can be equally little doubt that the attacks on Jews and on Jewish property were unlawful. No one has the right to permit himself to be overcome by passion. When one recalls the events of that night, and tries to probe them from all angles, one can say only that they were imbecility, madness. The effects of these acts have been felt not only by the Jews, but by the German people themselves. As far back as 1934, when there were individual acts of far less consequence, I denounced the ringleaders as mutineers — and that with the express approval of the Fuehrer. We all know that the events of November 9th/10th were more serious. It was due only to chance that there were no grave clashes between police and demonstrators, because it was impossible to ensure that the conduct of the police everywhere would continue to be such that clashes could be averted.

It is intriguing to note that the Minister of the Interior knew nothing of the alleged "Heydrich telex message" either, the message that supposedly in-

structed the police not to disturb the demonstrators. He acknowledged implicitly that there were clashes (though, apparently, no "grave" ones) between police and demonstrators. The minutes go on:

> What is the use of having Brownshirts and Hitler Youth expend endless effort in collecting tinfoil, to increase the people's resources, when property worth millions is destroyed in a single night?
>
> Everything now depended on attaining our goal: the clean separation of the German from the Jew, without thoughtlessly creating difficulties. Negotiations are in progress with foreign states that should make large-scale emigration possible. The President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht is now in London for this purpose.
>
> Negotiations are under way to bring about the possibility of overcoming, by furnishing supplementary exports, the main resistance of other states who don't want impecunious Jews under any circumstances.

Those negotiations and Schacht's London visit are taken up farther on. Increased exports were necessary to enable Germany to buy the foreign exchange she had to give the emigrating Jews. The minutes state further that Jews were no longer permitted to own shares in business enterprises

> insofar as through stock ownership they could exercise influence on an economic undertaking. For the sake of exports, we must, for the time being, allow far-reaching exceptions to this rule. These exceptions cannot be published in the form of a decree; rather, they must be determined on an individual basis. He was instructed by the Minister-president (Hermann Goering) to point out that, fundamentally, export interests took precedence over Aryanization.
>
> Very shortly, unless there were special reasons for withholding them, all Jews would be given their passports back. Jewish passports are being marked with a "J." This measure was especially requested by foreign countries, who wanted to know which emigrants were Jews.

The marking of passports was preceded by months of negotiations between Germany and Switzerland. The Chief of the Swiss police, Dr. Heinrich Rothmund, insisted emphatically on this marking of Jewish passports, so that he could record and, if he deemed it necessary, stop the immigration of German Jews into Switzerland. In case Germany should not be prepared to accept the marking of Jewish passports, the imposition of obligatory visas for all Germans was threatened. Under this practice, a visa would be granted only upon "proof of being Aryan." On September 29, 1938 an agreement was signed by which Germany declared herself ready to comply with the demands of the Swiss authorities. As identification, the German government proposed a small circle, about 2.0 cm (four-fifths of an inch) in diameter with a "J" in its center. On October 30, 1938, the Swiss police authorities announced they wanted a red "J," 3.0 cm (one and one-fifth inches) without a circle, with a handwritten entry of the date on which it was stamped into the passport. The place where the "J" was to be inserted in the passport — first page, upper left — also was determined by Switzerland.[116]

In the further course of the conference at the Interior Ministry, Dr. Frick went into the unfortunate side effects that sometimes went with "Aryanization"

of businesses, and condemned them severely.

> Unfortunately, attempts at extortion have also occurred in a manner by which Jews were forced to dispose of their property at a fraction of its value; real estate, e.g., being taken over in exchange for paying the notarial fees. All these transactions are being investigated, and the guilty will be held accountable. It goes without saying that sales of this kind are legally invalid, and will be reversed. Along that line, those Germans who enriched themselves with Jewish property, stores, or other assets, will pay a special tax, the proceeds of which will go exclusively to the Reich. He requests assurance that this measure will be carried out. If difficulties arise, or should state agencies not be effective, he wants that reported to him. In such a case, the Minister-President, and the Fuehrer's Deputy (Rudolf Hess) would intervene — and he stressed that particularly — without regard to the persons involved.
>
> In solving the Jewish question, emigration is paramount. Counselling centers, including Jewish ones, are being set up and must not be interfered with. Training institutions for Jews, to make their emigration easier, are planned. It is the Fuehrer's express wish that emigration be fostered by all means; if a Jew wants to leave, no complications are to be raised — they are to be eliminated. In addition, measures are being considered that will aid in the departure also of those Jews who are without means.
>
> As heretofore, Jews are permitted to own houses, but now under very definite requirements. Since it is intended, as long as Jews are still living in Germany, to gather them into particular streets — though without creating a ghetto — there is no objection to these houses remaining in Jewish hands, for the time being.

Because of the dismissal of Jewish employees, and the idling of Jewish plants, there would soon be more and more Jewish unemployed. Employment must be found for them. Among other ideas is that of:

> ...large Jewish production firms which would be assigned special projects. These firms were not to be defamed under any circumstances. The Fuehrer himself has directed that a German-Jewish limited liability company for the provision of Jewish dwelling-space be established in Munich. Naturally, that will be a Jewish firm. Matters must now not be carried so far that these, too, are no longer tolerated.
>
> The Minister then spoke of the ban on Jews, and made known, confidentially, that the Fuehrer did not agree with the measure worked out for Berlin. No objection was to be made if on certain days as, e.g., the Day of National Solidarity, for the sake of public safety, a sort of curfew were ordered for the Jews. But blocking entire streets for prolonged periods was not to be condoned. The Fuehrer has directed that this measure be dropped.
>
> The proposed ordinance about making Jews publicly identifiable (it was aimed at having Jews wear visibly a "Star of David") was not promulgated either. Signs reading "Jews Not Wanted" surely need not be displayed everywhere. The Reich Economics Ministry will direct where such signs are to be shown. Only specific clubs and restaurants, frequented primarily by Party and military personnel, or individual large hotels, come into question. All other signs of this type will be removed.
>
> Jews could make purchases in German stores everywhere, of course... The Fuehrer decided that expressly and unmistakably. He mentioned this particularly because, unfortunately, in a few places, members of the German Labor Front had pilloried owners of German stores who sold to Jews ...
>
> The Minister then spoke about public welfare. At first, the Jewish Social

Assistance will be called on. Therefore, that organization, and its affiliates, must not be interfered with, either, as has happened in many localities. We need the Jewish Social Assistance especially for emigration. If the Jewish welfare agencies cannot help, public welfare must step in.

Thus far the essential parts of the minutes of the meeting at the Reich Ministry of the Interior on December 16, 1938. The *Kristallnacht* marked a turning point in German "Jewish policy." The anti-Jewish demonstrations of that night radiated so strong a shock-effect as to cause Adolf Hitler immediately thereupon to move at last toward a definitive solution of the "Jewish question." And "solution" meant emigration.

Until November, 1938, Germany's Jewish policy was conducted practically as a side-issue. Different sections of various departments of a number of agencies and organizations occupied themselves with one aspect or another of the "Jewish question." The *Kristallnacht* changed that abruptly. The Fuehrer ordered Goering to consolidate the agencies involved, and to simplify the emigration process.

The "Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration" was founded. Its counterpart on the Jewish side, for purposes of negotiation, was the "Reich Union of Jews," also newly founded. The Reich Union advised and helped Jews on problems of emigration, insofar as internal Jewish interests were concerned. The Reich Central Office ironed out difficulties in regard to transportation, baggage, and transfer of foreign exchange, and it financed instruction and retraining centers to enable emigrants to enter crafts and trades for which there was a demand in the countries of immigration.

CHAPTER XXI

Conference in the Air Ministry of November 12, 1938

A month before the meeting called by Dr. Frick at the Interior Ministry, Hermann Goering, instructed by Adolf Hitler, convened a meeting at the Air Ministry. This was attended by representatives of all the ministries and agencies concerned with the Jewish question. Complete minutes of this meeting unfortunately have not been preserved. However, parts of a copy of an incomplete stenographic transcript (three of the seven parts of the minutes are missing) of which, moreover, essential parts have been destroyed, were submitted at Nuremberg.

The purpose of Goering's conference was to decide upon a coordination, consolidation, and centralization of all problems related to the Jewish question. These were primarily of an economic nature, which was why Goering in his capacity as Deputy for the Four-Year Plan was directed to deal with them. It is self-evident that the meeting dealt with the suddenly heightened urgency of large-scale emigration of Jews — not with annihilating them. Orderly and systematic emigration meant that economic positions held by Jews must first be turned over to Germans.

But there was a serious difficulty: Even those Jews who were ready to emigrate could not leave — they didn't know where they could go. For those who had no wish to go to Palestine — which had no restriction on the immigration of Jews, as long as they were well-to-do — the gates of other countries, in great part, were shut. When the Jews in Germany were asked to leave that is condemned as uniquely abominable, barbarous, and criminal German anti-Semitism by our contemporary historians and politicians; when it is pointed out that the rest of the world didn't want them either, they change the subject. Schizophrenia, or hypocrisy?

In 1938 the Germans did their best to overcome the barriers and obstacles to Jewish emigration from the Reich. The acceptance of Jews by foreign countries — those that would entertain the idea at all — was not only limited in number, but subject to the possession of a minimum amount of foreign exchange that had to be shown on entry.

The two facets of the emigration problem were, first, to disengage the Jews from the German economy in which, despite their small number, they played a financially significant part; second, to find countries that would agree to Jewish immigration, and to do so on conditions that were at all within the realm of possibility.

As stated above, the purpose of the meeting at the Air Ministry on November 12, 1938 was to simplify internal German administrative problems; procedures were to be coordinated and consolidated. The fragments of the minutes cited in the IMT volumes[117] do not reveal whether decisions were reached, or any measures adopted. On the other hand, the IMT volumes quote lengthy passages in which individual participants in the conference express themselves on the *Kristallnacht* and its consequences. If, in this instance, one may believe what the IMT published, that was often done quite rudely, in a manner reminiscent of the debating customs of the West German parliament.

It was in the course of the November 12th conference that Goering asked Heydrich about the extent of the *Kristallnacht* damage; a question that was taken up a few chapters back. Without going into the cryptic "Heyer" report, written, allegedly, the day before, on November 11, Heydrich indicates there were altogether 171 synagogues destroyed, 7500 shops and stores damaged; and 35 dead.

CHAPTER XXII

Jews Among Foreign Nations

As the current historical literature portrays it, the National Socialists' endeavor to persuade the Jews to leave Germany was the sheerest injustice. Ignorant of sociological relationships and tensions, it proclaims one-sidedly the right of the Jews to settle in Germany. And not only of the Jews, but of any other peoples who want to make their home in Germany. That the people's representatives in government, sworn to work for the well-being of the people to whom they belong, show so little understanding of the problems brought on by the presence of alien groups, is further disheartening.

The existence of Jews in any country, always — for over two thousand years — has caused great difficulties. Anti-Judaism is as old as Jewish history. The reasons for this are manifold. The Jews ascribe it to their status as the Chosen People, that inspires "envy, hate, and rage" in other peoples because they were not chosen. "Without doubt, this is the oldest and strongest real reason for the anti-Semitism that continues to this day: the belief that God made a covenant with Abraham and his descendants, that God renewed this covenant on Mount Sinai through Moses — that Israel thereby is the chosen people of God, and destined by God to be an implement for the blessing of humanity."[118]

On the other hand, for a long time Christians looked on Jews as "God killers," because they crucified Jesus Christ. Jews did not accept the revelation of God in the person of Jesus Christ, but remained obdurate in their conviction. That makes them enemies of God. The Gospel according to St. John goes so far as to declare: The devil is their father *(John 8, 44)*. In addition to the New Testament, there is an array of philosophical, sociological, economic, cultural, and racial reasons underlying the Christian position. It is impossible, and also redundant, as far as the subject is concerned, to go more deeply into the problem of anti-Semitism within the framework of this study. But since, after the *Kristallnacht* efforts to remove the Jews from Germany were intensified, one aspect of the Jewish question, the sociological, should be taken up, at least briefly.

Dr. Eva Reichmann, a Jewish sociologist, born in Berlin, living in London (1980), examines in detail, in her book *Flucht in den Hass* [Hostages of Civilisation], the question of how anti-Jewish attitudes could have developed

at all. She proceeds from the premise that an "objective anti-Semitism" in the essential nature of a people is justified and necessary. She points out:

> Among every people, the Jews remain a closed group, by themselves. They may adapt, but they strongly resist complete integration. In consequence, they are everywhere felt to be a foreign body. Encounters between heterogeneous groups cause sociological problems. The more homogeneous a people is in its culture and in its society, the more it is disturbed by the presence of a foreign element. It provokes psychic and physical resistance. From that it becomes clear that every people has the natural, legitimate right to defend itself against "foreign bodies." There is a striving for homogeneity in one's group that must be recognized as an elemental factor in the formation of human society; against this, the visible and palpable presence of an alien element is felt as a provocation.[119]

According to that, the cause, including the religiously-embroidered one, of all anti-Semitism would be the sole fact that Jews live everywhere as alien communities closed to the outer society.

> The objective tensions have a tendency to diminish with a relaxation of group differences and slowly cease of themselves to disturb the social balance. However, they would disappear completely only with the disappearance of the Jewish group-character, that is, with the cessation of Jewish existence. The existence of an objective Jewish question is bound up inseparably with the existence of Jewish groups, which means, with Jewish existence.[120]

Dr. Reichmann is not the only Jew who has seen this problem so clearly. Awareness of the impossibility of integrating Jews into a foreign society was the moving force behind the Zionism that flared up in the nineteenth century, the Jewish efforts to get Jews out of their host countries and gather them into a state of their own. The writings of the three great pioneers of that idea — the German Socialist, Moses Hess (1812-1875), the Russian physician, Leo Pinsker (1821-1892), and the Viennese journalist, Theodor Herzl (1869-1904) — when studied in detail, reveal that the National Socialist endeavor toward a solution of the "Jewish question" was no more than a response to Zionist demands.

In his *Judenstaat* [The Jewish State], Herzl, in 1896 wrote:

> The Jewish question exists. It would be foolish to deny it... The Jewish problem exists wherever Jews live in noticeable numbers. Where it does not exist, it is introduced by Jews who move in... I believe I can understand anti-Semitism, which is in many ways a complicated movement. I look on this movement from the standpoint of a Jew — but without hatred or fear. I believe I recognize in anti-Semitism what is crude humor, ordinary economic envy, inherited prejudice, religious intolerance — but also what is deemed to be self-defense.
>
> Anti-Semitism grows daily, hourly, among the peoples, and must continue to grow since its causes continue to exist, and cannot be alleviated.
>
> The *causa remota* is the loss, in the Middle Ages, of the ability to assimilate; the *causa proxima* is our overproduction of middling intelligences, that can neither be drained off, nor rise higher — hence, no healthy draining off, and no healthy rising to a higher level. Downward, we are being proletarianized into revolutionaries; we are the subalterns of every revolutionary party, while at the same time our terrible financial might grows upward.
>
> Will it not be said that I am putting weapons into the hands of anti-Semites?

> Why? Because I acknowledge the truth? Because I do not assert that there are none but excellent people among us?[121]

In Herzl's opinion, the Jewish question is neither social nor religious:

> It is a national question; to resolve it we must, above all, first make it into a world political question... We are a people, a people ...
> The Jewish State is a world necessity, hence, it will arise ...[122]

He therefore demands that:

> We be given sovereignty over a part of the earth's surface sufficient for the rightful requirements of our people; we will take care of everything else ourselves.[123]

It is fully clear to Herzl that an emigration of Jews from their current host countries could not be accomplished without difficulties on both sides.

Nevertheless, he believes the fervor of the Zionist idea will release hidden reserves of strength in the Jews that will enable them to overcome the inherent resistance to leaving their homes.

> No one is strong enough, or rich enough, to move a people from one dwelling place to another. Only an idea can do that. The idea of a state may well have such force.[124]

With reference to the host countries left behind, Herzl writes:

> No economic disruptions, no crises, nor persecutions will follow after the departing Jews, but rather a period of prosperity will begin for the lands left behind. An internal migration of Christian citizens into the positions surrendered by Jews takes place. The outlook is gradual, without any jolt, and its very beginning is the end of anti-Semitism.
> The Jews leave as respected friends. If individual Jews then return, civilized countries will receive and treat them just as they would treat the citizens of any other foreign country.
> This emigration is no flight, but an orderly withdrawal, under the observation of public opinion. The movement is not only to be organized by completely legal means, it can, in any case, be accomplished only with the friendly collaboration of the participating government, which derives substantial benefit therefrom.[125]

No one who reads these words of Theodor Herzl will fail to see their similarity to the measures taken in the first years of the Third Reich to solve the Jewish question.

Between 1933 and 1942 the most far-reaching efforts were made to bring the Jewish problem to a reasonable and tolerable conclusion. German government agencies, NS-party organizations, and the pertinent sections of the SS, took part in this, as did international Jewish-Zionist entities, Jewish settlers in Palestine, and the Jewish Agency (World Zionist organization).

It must be emphasized, again and again, that the struggle against Jewry was not against the individual Jew as a human being, but solely against the sinister influence of internationally intertwined Jewish organisms that was destroying Germany. Nor did it impugn the integrity of individual Jewish personages who stood up for their people and sought a home, and a homeland, for them. Through this motivation, common to both sides, National Socialists and Zionists were fundamentally in accord.

Dr. Eva Reichmann's sociological findings, cited in extract above, are now applied in one state: Israel, where what is held up as gross injustice in Germany is being practiced as a matter of course by the Jews themselves.

After the State of Israel was founded on May 15, 1948, David Ben Gurion declared the "land of Israel" to be the property of the Jewish people. In this land that was proclaimed "the State of Israel," the Jews claimed autonomy and the rights of national sovereignty. The State of Israel was declared the homeland of all Jews. It was ready to receive Jews from everywhere in the world. "This state will keep its gates wide open for every Jew, and will confer on the Jewish people the status of a nation with equal rights among the peoples" (Declaration of Independence). Every Jew was, and is, welcome in Israel. On the other hand, entry for non-Jews is possible only as a tourist. In other words, Israel is practicing the same nationality policy, but much more restrictively, for which the Jews have been blaming National Socialist Germany.

In 1980, about fifteen percent of the inhabitants of Israel were non-Jews, mostly Arabs. As late as 1980, all non-Jews were recognized only as religious communities, and were allowed no political influence. In the event, there were four representatives of the Arab minority among the 120 delegates to the Knesset (Israeli Parliament). According to the system of proportional representation used in Israel, there should have been at least eighteen. The 0.6% non-Arab minority in Israel is preponderantly European Christian that stayed on after the Mandate: this entity has no political representation at all. (This brings to mind the disproportionate influence claimed, and exercised, by the Jewish citizenry of West Germany, which is less than 0.5% of the population.) The entire governmental power of Israel is exclusively in Jewish hands.

The Israeli corpus juris contains two of the "infamous" Nuremberg laws.

From the "Law of the Right of Citizenship," Israel lifted the differentiation between "citizenship in a state" (Staatsangehoerigkeit) and "being part of a people" (Volkszugehoerigkeit). While non-Jewish inhabitants of Israel can obtain Israeli citizenship, only Jews are regarded as part of the Jewish people, which distinction is signified by a "Jew" in personal identity documentation.[126] The "Jew" assures preference in obtaining employment, and privileged treatment in dealing with authorities, and the like.

The Nuremberg "Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor" corresponded, even when it was proclaimed, to analagous Hebraic religious commandments, according to which a Jew is forbidden to marry a non-Jew. That, too, naturally, is part of Israeli law. No Jew can marry a non-Jew. Such marriages as may have been contracted abroad are considered invalid, children born of them being viewed as illegitimate.

Every freedom-loving person who cherishes his people and his fatherland must, and will, hail the fact that Jews who feel that they belong to a people form themselves into a state of their own.

The exertions of the first settlers who drained the Palestinian marshlands, irrigated the desert, cleared the fields and meadows, and made, in part, a

flowering paradise of the neglected land, merit admiration in the highest degree. No one will dispute their right to the land. No one will forbid them to make their own laws in their own state, nor, if they wish, to close their country to non-Jewish immigration.

But then, spokesmen for Jewish interests, very much in particular, should not point fingers at National Socialist Germany, and chastise it for having adopted a nationality policy that is an integral part of the scheme of things in present-day Israel.

CHAPTER XXIII

Jewish Emigration Problems

The Ha'avara Agreement

Organized emigration of Jews from Germany was begun as early as May 1933, with the establishment of the Ha'avara Organization that made possible the orderly transfer of ten thousands of German Jews, with their wealth and their possessions, to Palestine (Ha'avara, as it will be written henceforth, is Hebrew for "transfer.")

The principles of this type of transfer had been set forth in Theodor Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* [The Jewish State]. Herzl foresaw the difficulties that would be caused by the departure of large numbers of Jews from their host countries, especially if, as in the case of Germany, they constituted an economically powerful element. He proposed the founding of a "Jewish Company" whose task it would be to liquidate the real property of the departing Jews. The emigrating Jew does not receive cash for the property left behind, but instead, "on the other side" — Herzl had Palestine in mind — he would be given its countervalue, in merchandise, houses, and according to the needs of and the potential of the new community.[127]

A similar arrangement, modified to bring it up to date, was set up, by the Germans and Jews in 1938. Emigrating Jews paid the value of their assets into a blocked account, and for it received merchandise, house, or land in Palestine. The Palestinian company participating in the contract used the Reichsmarks paid into the blocked account to finance the importation of goods from Germany.

The first agreement of this sort was entered into between the Reich Foreign Ministry and the Palestinian citrus plantation company, Hanoteah Ltd. in May, 1933. Dolf Michaelis, the Jewish banker and economics expert, a former consultant to Ha'avara, describes it in this manner:

> The agreement with the Ministry provided that, by means of payments — up to 40,000 Reich marks in individual cases — into the Hanoteah blocked account, emigrants, and those who wanted to emigrate later, would be given authorization to establish a homestead in Palestine. Hanoteah contracted, as a countervalue, to place at the disposal of the transferee a house or a citrus plantation that he could then work himself or, by special agreement, have Hanoteah work for him.

For its part, Hanoteah Ltd. used the Reich marks in its blocked account to procure materials needed for its own requirements; agricultural machinery, pumps, pipe, fertilizer, and so on.[128]

The agreement was soon broadened and extended to other trustee firms. Its "founding document," so to speak, was the Reich Economics Ministry's Notice No. 54/33 of August 28, 1933, to all foreign exchange offices:

To continue to promote the emigration of German Jews to Palestine by allocating the requisite funds without making excessive demands on the foreign exchange holdings of the Reichsbank, and at the same time to increase German exports to Palestine, an agreement with participating Jewish agencies has been made on the following principles:

Emigrants who are certified by Emigrant Advisory Council as needing further sums commensurate with the necessity of starting a new existence in Palestine — sums over and above the 1,000 Palestine Pounds required for entry into the country — can receive authorization, within the stipulations of Emigrant Advisory Council certification, to pay amounts in excess of 15,000 Reich marks into Special Account I set up by the Reichsbank main office on behalf of the Temple Society to the credit of a Jewish trusteeship to be established, or until one is established, to the credit of the Anglo-Palestine Bank.

Special Account I, for which, together with Special Account II (mentioned further below) a capitalization of three million Reich marks is planned, will be administered by the Temple Bank as an account in trust for the Jewish trusteeship in question. German goods shipped to Palestine will be paid for from this account. As made possible by the amounts received from the sale of German goods shipped to Palestine, the Palestine trusteeship will give the emigrants the countervalue in Palestine Pounds of the payments they had made into Special Account I in accordance with the sequence and in proportion to the sums they had paid into that account.

To advise German Jews on this method of capital transfer to Palestine, a "Palestine Trusteeship for the Counseling of German Jews, Ltd.," with headquarters at Friedrich Strasse 218, Berlin, has been established. I request that when issuing authorizations, this trusteeship be especially indicated.

In addition, Special Account II has been created by the Reichsbank Main Office for the Bank of the Temple Society. Upon application, the foreign exchange officials can authorize Jewish citizens of Germany who are not yet emigrating, but want nevertheless to establish a homestead in Palestine, to pay amounts of up to 50,000 Reich marks per person into this Special Account II (which also is for the credit of a German-Jewish trusteeship to be instituted in Palestine, or until such trusteeship is instituted, the Anglo-Palestine Bank).[129]

Over the following years, the principle stayed the same. The amounts authorized for transfer were raised substantially, or limitations were lifted. In 1936, the Jewish Agency took over Ha'avara, and took the place of the individual trusteeships. This agreement was to run for over eight years. After the outbreak of war, the German authorities still remained ready to continue the Ha'avara transfers, on the standpoint that Palestine, being a League of Nations Mandate, could not be at war with Germany. The pressing of Palestine into the war organization of the British Empire made direct transfers to there impossible. Yet, through a London branch of Ha'avara, "Intria," using facilities of neutral countries, German Jews could still transfer their capital to Palestine.

In December, 1941, when America entered the war, this connection was broken off.

The Ha'avara transfer accounts in Germany were in the hands of two private Jewish banks, M. M. Warburg in Hamburg and A. E. Wassermann in Berlin. When war broke out, both banks were put under German trustee administration. The untransferred amounts still on hand were treated as enemy-alien property, and not confiscated. After the war, they were again at the disposal of those who had paid in.

To obtain a certificate of immigration into Palestine, it was necessary to have a minimum capital of one thousand Palestinian Pounds (£P), which corresponded to English pounds sterling. Because of the Reichsmark devaluations from 1933 to 1939, its value declined; in 1933, a thousand Palestinian Pounds (or English £) could be bought for 12,500 RM, in 1939 they cost 40,000 RM. The purchasing power of a Palestinian pound was considerably greater than that of the equivalent value in Reichsmarks. In 1933, the average income of a Jewish worker in Palestine was six to seven Palestinian Pounds per month; four £P were regarded as adequate. A thousand £P was a very sizeable sum. It is understandable that Jews possessing such wealth were considered to be "capitalists" (as they were designated officially). Capitalists constituted an immigrant category of their own, "A-1"; there was no restriction on their immigration.

Ha'avara made possible the emigration not only of the well-to-do but also of less affluent Jews. Since the sums paid into the special accounts in Germany exceeded by far the demand for merchandise by the small Jewish immigrant colony in Palestine, long-term credits from the accumulated balances were given to German Jews willing to emigrate, but without the means to do so; repayment was to be made later in Palestine. As long as he was ready to go to Palestine, Ha'avara enabled every Jew to emigrate.

There were similar understandings with other countries, but the advantages provided by Ha'avara were not applicable to them.

In the meanwhile, shipment of German goods through Ha'avara went not only to Palestine but to Egypt, Syria, and Iraq as well. Those shipments, too, could be paid for in "Ha'avara marks," which meant a substantial loss of foreign exchange to Germany; nevertheless, those transactions were allowed by the German authorities.

In addition to the emigrants' monetary assets, Ha'avara transferred their pensions and other retirement income, tuition fees, and money for subsistence and maintenance. Pensions due Jewish officials who had been dismissed were sent them regularly by the pertinent German authorities.

> Thus, Jewish state and communal officials forcibly pensioned because of the racial laws, and official functionaries of Jewish communities and institutions, could emigrate to Palestine and there receive a minimum living in Palestinian currency. About six hundred such retirees obtained their pensions from Germany through Ha'avara.[130]

Jewish war pensioners of 1914-1918, virtually without exception, received their payments directly by mail.

The benefits of the Ha'avara agreement were not restricted to the German Jewish immigrants in Palestine. Yeshov, the Jewish settlement already there, also profited very materially by it. Footnote 128 references a study of Ha'avara, suggested by the erstwhile Director of the Society and prepared by its former staff, which contains this observation:

> The economic activity made possible by the German capital contribution and by Ha'avara's transactions in the public and private sectors was of the greatest importance in building the country. Many new commercial and industrial concerns were formed in Jewish Palestine at that time, and a series of companies that are of substantial significance to the economy of the State of Israel today owe thanks to Ha'avara for their founding. Among them is one of most vital importance, "Mekoroth," that supplies all Israel with water.
>
> In the years 1933-1940 Jewish settlement doubled in size and productivity. That was made possible solely by the settlement-credits that came out of the Ha'avara Agreement.[131]

Over half of the so-called capitalists who immigrated into Palestine in the years 1933-1940 came from Germany. The corresponding capital inflow came to some twenty million Palestine Pounds, equivalent, as has been pointed out, to L20,000,000 Sterling. This money benefitted only the Jewish population that, by 1941, had grown to 500,000.

It is no wonder that Dr. Ludwig Pinner, member of the Board of Directors of the Ha'avara Society, in his essay: "The Significance to Jewish Palestine of Immigration from Germany," published in 1972, never tires of extolling the immeasurable advantages of this agreement. He demonstrates clearly that Ha'avara, by having made possible the immigration of Jews from Germany, prepared the ground for the State of Israel.

Without German capital, without the professional and technical knowledge, the initiative and the energy of the Jews from Germany, there would have been no State of Israel. They were the ones who, by developing settlements and industry, first made possible the immigration also of poorer Jews from other parts of the world. Dr. Pinner writes:

> The German immigrants altered profoundly the economic structure and the social aspect of the Jewish settlements and contributed decisively to their development. With the immigration from Germany began a rapidly growing industrial upsurge. Hundreds of manufacturing plants and shops were built. Perhaps yet more important than the expansion per se of industry, was the elevation of its technological level. The activity of the German Jews as industrialists and investors was decisive in raising the economy of the Jewish settlements out of the pre-industrial and pre-capitalist stage.
>
> The Ha'avara transactions, and the forms of capital investment familiar to the German Jews brought into being a capital investment market that made long-term financing available for home-construction, colonization, and industrialization, and created the prerequisite for the productive use of savings and monetary reserves in building up the country.
>
> The immigrants from Germany, accustomed to stocks, bonds, and other

debentures, first laid the foundations for a modern financial market. From the Clearing House set up at that time, the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange later evolved.

The influence of German immigrants on the development of Jewish Palestine found expression not only in the economic and social spheres. It was significant in the realms of culture, of science, and of art.

Through the modernly equipped hospitals that Ha'avara made possible, Palestine became a first-class center of medicine. That ranking scientists joined the staffs of the young learning and research institutions, was especially valuable to the evolution of higher education in Palestine.

In the artistic field, it is their contribution to the musical life of Palestine, above all, for which the German immigrants must be admired. The Philharmonic Orchestra now enjoys international renown. When it was brought into being by Bronislaw Hubermann in 1936, it was composed almost exclusively of artists who came from Germany.

Dr. Pinner concludes this part of his history with the observation:

The dedication of these people, in research and teaching centers, in the economy and in administration, in public life and in the defense organization, was of incalculable consequence to the preparation of the Jewish settlements for the momentous tasks that stood before them.[132]

Seldom, if ever, did a single agreement do more to promote the creation of a state than did Ha'avara for the founding of Israel.

Anyone with experience of the "spirit of the times" will not be astonished that in no current (1980) history of the State of Israel is there an allusion to Ha'avara. One reason for this curious omission might be, that, if Ha'avara were brought up at all, it would reveal to the world that National Socialist Germany, maligned as having "exterminated" the Jews, in truth, through this uniquely magnanimous agreement, laid the cornerstone of the State of Israel.[133]

Herzl's dream became reality through Ha'avara: The legal emigration of Jews from Germany took place within an organized framework in which Ha'avara assumed the role of the "Jewish Company," proposed by Herzl, to supervise the transfer of Jewish assets.

For Germany, on the other hand, Ha'avara had a harmful side. In the course of the transfers, German goods were exported to Palestine; they were paid for from blocked accounts in Germany; they brought in no foreign exchange at a time when German exports had to contend with the most serious difficulties — not the least of which, ironically, were World Jewry's strenuous international boycott efforts — this sort of exporting was a severe burden on the German economy and, particularly, on its foreign exchange budget. For that reason, there were frequent objections to the Ha'avara.

Beyond that, the Foreign Office expressed reservations of a political nature. The German Consul General in Jerusalem, Hans Doehle, in an analysis March 22, 1937 stressed that with the Ha'avara Agreement the German Government had put "the promotion of Jewish emigration from Germany, and settlement of the emigrated Jews in Palestine" ahead of consideration of "the points of view that in other countries are critical for the safeguarding of German interests." The strengthening of the Jewish economy "by facilitating the

transportation of German-Jewish industrial enterprises to Palestine" must work against Germany on the world market. Doehle emphasizes: "The hostility of Palestinian Jews toward Germany is manifested at every opportunity."[134]

Another drawback to Germany of having German goods brought into Palestine was that Great Britain felt itself to be disadvantaged, and mounted attacks on Germany in its press. England refused to consider the positive sides of German aid to the Jews, and saw only the undesirable German trade competition.

According to the Doehle analysis the negative balance, for Germany, of the Ha'avara Agreement, looks like this:

1. Loss of foreign exchange by export of goods not paid for in foreign convertible currency.
2. Strengthening anti-German Jewish influence in Palestine by building up the Jewish economy.
3. Control of German imports into Palestine by the Jewish Agency without regard for German sales interests.
4. Angering Arab and German merchants established in the country by now making them do business with Germany through the Jewish Agency.
5. Angering the British Mandate administration, who sees its privileged position jeopardized by the German competitors.

Despite all these considerations, Adolf Hitler decided repeatedly that the emigration of the Jews was to be furthered by all means; and that there could be no question of annulling the Ha'avara Agreement. The outcome of these Fuehrer decisions was that Ha'avara remained active into 1941.

The Evian Conference and the "Intergovernmental Committee"

In the summer of 1938, at the initiative of the American President, F. D. Roosevelt, an international refugee conference was held in the French watering town of Evian-les-Bains on Lake Geneva. Representatives of thirty-two countries met from the 6th until the 15th of July in the Hotel Royale for secret talks in which the possibilities of assistance to Jews emigrating from Germany were discussed.

The representatives of all thirty-two countries were in accord. The Jewish emigration was an unheard-of cruelty inflicted by the German government, the suffering of the Jews, immeasurable. The excruciating urgency of the situation demanded immediate international cooperation. Every single delegate rose to his feet to declaim in flaming oratory the unique evil of anti-Semitism in Germany; each gushed compassion for the victims. At the same time, every single delegate was constrained to emphasize that his country, especially, and regrettably, was not in a position to help by admitting any considerable

number of immigrants.

Germany was not at the conference, either as participant or observer; she could see no prospect of its success. After ten days in the spa's luxury hotels, the representatives of the thirty-two nations checked out and went home. There remained George Rublee and the "Intergovernmental Committee of the Evian Conference."

At the finish, the participants decided to set up that committee, to justify their expense accounts, and to give the appearance of continuing concern about the fate of the Jews from Germany. The American attorney, George Rublee, a man over 70, was named Director. According to the *Washington Post*, August 11, 1938, he had an exceptional talent for getting things done, deep humanitarian commitment, and the ability to solve difficult problems with a gentle hand.

Rublee was Director of the "Intergovernmental Committee" until the latter part of February, 1939. In the seven months of his activity, the indifference of the other members of the committee was not the least of his troubles. Years later, he published a report of his work with this committee, in which he says:

> I soon realized that neither British government circles nor the diplomatic corps had any particular interest in my work. The American Ambassador, Joseph P. Kennedy, showed only minor interest, and never gave me material support. I surmise...that President Roosevelt also had no special interest. I surmise the President may have thought that some sort of gesture was called for to mollify the outrage caused by the Jewish persecution.[135]

If, by chance, reference to the Evian Conference is encountered today, it will be with the remark that it had no effect, and that the efforts of the Intergovernmental Committee also came to nothing. For the Jews, this international conference made manifest the world's indifference to Jewish persecution; the participating states demonstrated the helplessness of free democracies in the face of the "brutal brown dictatorship."

That turns the facts into their complete opposites. It was true that the "free democracies," and their international conferences produced no global plan of assistance. However, the German government, the "brutal brown dictatorship" in February, 1939, after barely four weeks' negotiation, signed a secret agreement with George Rublee, an agreement described by initiates as "sensational, quite extraordinarily more liberal and magnanimous than could have been expected." The agreement really was "sensational."

Against the will of Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency, despite the resistance of the British, French, and American Jews, an assistance program for the emigrating Jewish population was devised that would have assured financially the resettlement of more than four hundred thousand Jews.

Without suffering loss of their assets, and, if necessary, occupational retraining at the expense of the German government, in crafts or trades most called for in the countries of immigration, Jewish families would have left

Germany and could have found new homes in countries of their choice. Permission to emigrate was to be given also to Jews detained in camps on other than criminal charges.

To facilitate the acceptance of Jews by other countries, the German government went beyond releasing Jewish assets, in stages, and retraining; insofar as that was possible, and defensible, eventual penal entries in personal records were to be expunged.

Jews over forty-five were left free to choose whether to emigrate or to remain in Germany. If they chose to stay, they were guaranteed freedom from molestation, complete freedom of movement, and, with that, freedom to work wherever they wished. Older people, no longer able to work, would be taken into a social program that would provide them with a life free of worry in their declining years.

Restrictions (travel limitations; prohibition of certain occupational pursuits) were largely to be removed when the Rublee Agreement went into effect.[136]

Before going once more into the Rublee Agreement, and the effort that produced it, it may be instructive to look at a plan to finance the emigration and resettlement of German Jews, drawn up, after the "Kristallnacht" events, by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht at the express wish, and by order of Adolf Hitler, which plan Dr. Schacht subsequently took to London.

The Schacht Plan

In Dr. Schacht's concept, the assets of Jewish German citizens living in Germany were to be put together and administered in trust by a committee consisting of Germans, Jews, and foreign financiers. All Jewish assets, estimated by the Reichsbank in November, 1938 at six billion Reich marks — an assessment later found to have been low by one-half — were to serve as security for a foreign exchange loan of the countervalue of one and a half billion Reich marks. That sum could have financed the emigration.

Schacht was sure the wealthy foreign Jews would subscribe to this loan without a second thought, to help their co-religionists in Germany. So, at the beginning of December, 1938, Dr. Schacht betook himself to London to discuss his proposition with various personages. He negotiated with Montague Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, with whom he was on a basis of personal friendship; further, with Lord Winterton, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Chairman of the Evian Conference; with Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, chief economic counselor to the British government; in addition, with William Lord Bearstedt of the banking house of Samuel & Samuel; and lastly, with George Rublee, who had moved the "Intergovernment Committee" to London.

In the course of the conversations, Lord Bearstedt remarked that this question could not be negotiated without the participation of the Jews themselves, and suggested that he consult first with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, ~~Presi-~~

of the Jewish Agency.

Schacht reports on this:

> On the second day, Lord Bearstedt returned and, again in the presence of Montague Norman, declared: "I am sorry, Chaim Weizmann is strongly opposed to the plan." Thereupon I asked: "Can you give me any reason for this rejection?" His answer was, "Unfortunately, I cannot," which I took to mean: "Unfortunately, I may not," which naturally, he didn't say. He said only: "I cannot tell you the reason why, but the Jews would not accept it."[137]

At first glance, that is staggering! Why didn't the Jews want to accept this plan? Why did Weizmann refuse to help the Jews emigrate from Germany?

Dr. Schacht reflects:

> I do not think we should dismiss out of hand the possibility that Weizmann said to himself: "I shall attain my goal, rebuild Zion, found a Jewish state only if I allow great sacrifices that will give the cause momentum." I believe he harbored the idea of making sacrifices.

It didn't happen the way Schacht put it. First, it was not the Rublee plan, but Schacht's proposed method of financing it through a private joint loan by wealthy Jews that was refused; second, it was not Weizmann who made the decision, at least not by himself.

Schacht was in London from the 14th to the 17th of December, 1938. As he stated to the journalist, Vogel (in 1970), he left London with the impression that the plan was wrecked.

But in December, 1938, he had judged these discussions differently. A cable December 16, 1938 from the German Ambassador, von Dirksen, in London to the Foreign Office in Berlin reads:

> Reichsbank President Dr. Schacht who has been in London for three days as the guest of Mr. Montague Norman, will travel back to Berlin early Saturday. He has informed me as follows of the results of his discussion:
>
> I. In regard to the question of the Jews from Germany, he had lengthy talks with Lord Winterton, Chairman of the Evian Conference; Mr. Rublee, Chairman of the Integovernmental Refugee Committee; and with Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, chief economic advisor to the British government. In these talks he developed a plan, whereby, in a few years, 150,000 Jews were to be transported from Germany and resettled abroad; financing, in the amount of 1.5 billion Reich marks was to be arranged by a foreign consortium; payment of interest and amortization of the capital sum were to be made by Germany through additional exports.
>
> The plan was accepted by Lord Winterton, and Leith-Ross as a basis for discussion. Confirmation of the discussions was to be scheduled as soon as Dr. Schacht has reported in Berlin and guidelines for further negotiations are set by our side.[138]

In the meanwhile, George Rublee pursued the negotiations in London. On December 18, he wrote Washington in regard to the financing question.

> We have carried on private discussions with prominent Jewish leaders here, and have also obtained the opinions of Jewish leaders in Paris: It has turned out that the Jews categorically reject the plan to establish a private committee. They are of the opinion that with such a committee, the idea that there is something

like a "World Jewry" would in fact be given a certain credence. In their opinion, the financing should be provided by the governments represented on the Intergovernmental Committee.[139]

In reply thereto, Rublee received a cable from Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles in Washington, who emphasized that no one in America saw any chance of success for a loan plan such as that put forth by Schacht. Besides the whole proposal was tantamount to paying ransom demanded by Germany for the release of hostages.

Rublee was not so easily discouraged. He called a meeting for December 20, 1938 in Paris in which financial experts from France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands took part. At this meeting, too, it was made clear that it was impossible for private services to raise the required 1.5 billion Reichmarks in foreign exchange. Only an international consortium could do that. Schacht's stipulation that the interest Germany was prepared to pay on the loan be financed by a supplementary loan in foreign exchange was held to be especially offensive by those present. At last, the meeting broke up with the understanding that Germany would be asked to commit herself to paying the interest directly in foreign exchange. Among other considerations, that would be an inducement to foreign entrepreneurs to desist from the boycott.

It is peculiarly noteworthy that this boycott announced in London in March, 1933, and proclaimed anew by Samuel Untermeyer in August, 1933, before a Jewish assembly in New York — and religiously observed ever since — was in the name of a World Jewry that, in December, 1938, the Jews said didn't exist. Nevertheless this boycott was used to exert pressure on Germany now.

After the Christmas holidays, Rublee was invited to Berlin for talks — a clear indication of the change in German-Jewish policy since the *Kristallnacht*.

Before that November night, the endeavors of the "Evian Committee" met with rather skeptical reserve; there had been repeated refusals to receive Mr. Rublee officially in Berlin. The Jewish question was an internal German affair; there was no intention of allowing any interference from outside.

In the event, that concept was sustained as late as October 1938 by French representatives in the name of the Evian conferees: "None of these states disputes the unrestricted right of the German government to take measures concerning certain of its citizens that are based solely on the exercise of its sovereignty."

The same assurance was given at the start of the conference by the British ambassador:

> The conference abstains strictly from any criticism and from any attempt to interfere insofar as the right of the German government to take internal policy measures regarding the political and religious convictions, or the racial relationships, of its citizens is concerned.[140]

The *Kristallnacht* events produced an abrupt and radical change in the German attitude. Negotiations with Rublee were so pressed by the German side that they could be concluded successfully within a month — a tempo that took even Rublee aback.

The Rublee-Wohlthat Agreement

George Rublee arrived in Berlin at the beginning of January, 1939 and began talks, at first with Dr. Schacht, then — after Schacht's recall from the Reichsbank presidency — with Herbert Wohlthat, Hermann Goering's Ministerial Director, the talks having been arranged by Goering. After barely four weeks, both were able to sign the agreement alluded to earlier, whose content Rublee sketched, in a report already mentioned, as follows:

> About 600,000 Jews were living in Germany...the assumption was that about 150,000 of them were young and able to work, who, over a period of five years were to be transported by us in orderly fashion from Germany — which means that every year 30,000 would have had to be accommodated in another part of the world. It was assumed that the 150,000 would be followed within a given time by a further 250,000 family members, so that finally 400,000 would have left Germany. The remaining 200,000 were the old (over 45), the sick, and those unable to emigrate for other reasons. They were to remain in Germany; it was made sure that they would be treated decently... In London, the Jewish side was to form an association that would send representatives to Germany with the assignment to see to it that the emigration proceeded in an orderly manner. Thus, the Jews themselves were to select who was to emigrate. There were provisions for the immediate relaxation of travel restrictions on Jews in Germany, and permitting Jews to exercise professions that were closed to them until then.
>
> The agreement was more liberal and magnanimous than would have been thought possible.[141]

In a conversation with the journalist, Rolf Vogel, in 1974, Helmut Wohlthat affirmed that, although the agreement was never officially designated as such, it was, nevertheless, a binding contract.

> Then we drew up a sort of memorandum agreed by Mr. Rublee and me. Mr. Rublee then sent me the memorandum in letter form... This memorandum was a perfectly clear regulation of the treatment of the emigrants from Germany... The correspondence with Mr. Rublee was, in practical effect, a basis for a contract.

When Wohlthat was asked by Vogel if any of the Ministries, or even Himmler himself, had not raised objections to the arrangement, he denied that emphatically:

> It was once remarked to me that the paper I had worked out had naturally been a subject of consultation by the secret state police (Gestapo). Here I would like to stress that before confirming the paper that Mr. Rublee had sent me for signature, I made a personal presentation to Goering, declaring that I would sign only with his assent, and would confirm it only if I could be sure that the intent of the paper would be fulfilled. Goering then went to Hitler once more and personally obtained top approval. Only then did I confirm the content of the paper to Mr. Rublee.[142]

Thus, there is no doubt that the whole agreement was entered into with the express approval of the highest level of the Reich government. We have here a detailed plan of what the "final solution" would have been.

Discussions carried on in the United States by the American delegate to the Evian conference, Myron C. Taylor, were also at last successful; Helmut

Wohlthat, in a memorandum-for-file dated April 29, 1939, noted:

> Mr. Taylor telephoned me from New York. As a result of his negotiations, that at times were quite difficult, he learned that American Jewish bankers were prepared to raise sufficient means to guarantee the accomplishment of all resettlement projects.
>
> Messrs. Taylor, Peel, and Sir Herbert Emerson are convinced that financing for the emigration is assured.[143]

George Rublee, in his report, stated further:

> The Germans kept all their promises, and up until August the Jewish side also did what was necessary. Then came the war and everything was brought to a standstill.
>
> Perhaps if the war had not come, the Jewish question in Germany might have come to an end. In the months between my departure from Germany and the outbreak of the war, there was hardly any — if indeed there was any at all — persecution of Jews in Germany. Some left, and the rest had an easier time of it in Germany. I received quite a number of letters from Germany...in which (Jews)...expressed their thanks for what I had done for them.[144]

George Rublee wrote, "Perhaps, if the war had not come, the Jewish question in Germany might have come to an end." But, did the Jews really want that?

A winding down of Jewish persecution — real or alleged — in Germany would have deprived the American Jews, at least, of their most flammable tinder for feeding the flames of war against the German Reich; whatever moral foundation they may have built to shore up their instigation of a war against Germany would have disintegrated. However, by then, war was a foregone conclusion.

Another thought-provoking question is whether, in the event, the threatened elimination of Jewish influence in Germany — that, with the emigration of the Jews surely would have happened — could not have been one of the causes, if not, indeed, the main cause, of the outbreak of World War II? Or are we to believe that a Great Power would surrender its stronghold in one of the most important states on earth without a fight?

The Jews in the United States were not as grateful to George Rublee for his endeavors as were the Jews in Germany. Rublee, a gentleman, puts it very restrainedly: "The Jews in America were not very happy, because they harbored an aversion to any arrangements with Germany."[145]

In his book, *My Mission to Europe,* U. S. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles gives an example of this "aversion." He relates that on November 17, 1938 he received a telephone call from the British ambassador in Washington. On instructions from his government, the British ambassador told Welles that the British Parliament had resolved to set apart one-half of its regular immigration quota solely for Jews from Germany. Obviously, the ambassador expected a corresponding proposal from the United States. Mr. Welles was obliged to answer that the ambassador had better forget the idea. Firstly, it was not Welles' function to determine immigration quotas; secondly, just two days

earlier, on November 15, 1938, at a press conference, the American president had emphasized expressly that there was no intention of raising immigration quotas for immigration from Germany. Welles adds that his personal impression was that influential American Jewish leaders, who rigidly opposed increased Jewish immigration from Germany, were behind this decision.[146]

The Schacht-Rublee Conversations: Epilogue

This section on the Rublee-Wohlthat Agreement calls for a short supplement. In the interview Dr. Schacht gave Rolf Vogel in January, 1970, it strikes one that Schacht constantly extolls his part in the affair, as though it all was just his very own idea, while, in contrast, openly belittling Rublee's efforts, when he does not ignore them altogether. That probably was an expression of his long-held resentment at having been dismissed as President of the Reichsbank, that occurred while the Rublee negotiations were underway, and which, indirectly, were the cause of his recall.

Schacht himself puts it very differently, declaring arrogantly, "...then, because I did not want to finance Hitler's war, I was thrown out of my position as President of the Reichsbank ..."[147]

That it didn't occur to Schacht until January 9, 1939 that he "did not want to finance Hitler's war" appears strange. Especially in the circumstances. These are depicted in George Rublee's report on his stay and on his talks in Berlin.

> I was to negotiate with Dr. Schacht. There were three or four conversations with him... We thought we had already made good progress, and were hopeful that an agreement would be brought about, when a strange incident occurred.
>
> After the last meeting, Schacht asked Pell (one of Rublee's colleagues) to stay for a moment. We waited until Peel came out; on the drive back to the hotel Peel said Schacht had drawn him into a window-niche where, in a low voice, referring to a Gestapo report, Schacht said to him: "Mr. Rublee and you have stated that I am not loyal to the regime. Can this be denied?" We had stated nothing of the sort, but we knew there probably were listening devices in our hotel rooms, and that we were being watched. Naturally, we would have been glad to declare at any time that we had said nothing of the kind about Schacht — and that we knew nothing about all that.
>
> We were surprised the next morning when, before I had gotten up, Dr. Schacht had left a telephone message: He could not see me anymore. We telephoned the Ministry, to be told he had left there; no one knew where he was; they could tell me nothing more.

Mr. Rublee tried immediately to arrange an audience with Hermann Goering, who had him come over on the same day and introduced him to his new negotiating partner, Ministerial Director Helmut Wohlthat.

A Central Bank President who can be shown to have uttered defeatist sentiments, or made disloyal remarks, to foreign citizens, would not have been kept longer in his job in any other country, either. This had absolutely nothing to do with "financing Hitler's war."

CHAPTER XXIV

The *Kristallnacht* in Judicial Actions After 1945

Within the concept of the collective catchword "Nazi crimes," the *Kristallnacht*, too, had its judicial sequels. It was mainly in the province of Hessia, where most of the incidents of that night took place, that efforts were made to go after the erstwhile culprits, although other courts in the West German rump-state were not idle, either. According to statistics of the Federal Ministry of Justice for 1964 (the last information from them on this question), up until that year 2,703 people had been sentenced for participation in the "November pogroms."

> In the beginning, i.e., over the years 1945-1947, prosecution was very rigorous. Even the Jewish publishers of the collective work NS C*rimes in Court*, which reprints a large number of the trial records, are obliged to concede: The documents suggest considerable political influence on these NS trials. In the records of the trials up to 1947 there often are...only cursory verifications of the facts, and equally summary interpretations of the penal code.... Obviously, the judges had few problems with the evidence.[148]

The book remarks on one case:

> A few blunt words (by judge and prosecutor) settle scores, not with the accused individual, but with National Socialism as a whole... it is hardly possible to prove culpable acts against all the accused. However, the court acts on the premise that anyone who was involved in general discussions before the transgressions is a principal culprit.[149]

Punishment was meted out on the principle — now common — that he who confesses most gets the least, while he who, convinced of his innocence, will make no confession, is punished the most.

An example: Mr. A., Mr. B., and Mr. C. were all accused. Mr. A. admitted having forced his way into a Jew's house, and there to have overturned and demolished furniture. Mr. B. admitted having pushed fully open a door that already was partly open in this house and then, in the kitchen, slamming shut a closet door with such force that its glass panes fell out. Mr. C. had the assignment to put foodstuffs in safekeeping, to forestall eventual theft. Since he had a broken right arm at the time, his carrying of the items with a cast on

ad caused him some difficulty, nevertheless he carried out the order.

Each of the three men were sentenced to a year and a half in prison. Mr. A. ad the time he spent in investigative custody fully applied to his term ecause he had made a complete confession). Mr. B.'s time in investigative rrest was partially applied to his sentence (since he had confessed in ssence). Mr. C. had to serve his full term since, although he conceded having equestered the foodstuffs (that, as has been observed, must have been roublesome to him with his broken arm), he rejected all further accusations.

There are other peculiarities in the courts' verdicts that are cause for sober eflection.

For instance, there are two trials dealing with Judenaktionen (i.e., "acts gainst Jews") in Arheilgen; both involve the same transgressions; both were ken up in the Darmstadt Provincial Court; one ended with a verdict on ebruary 22, 1946, the other on November 11, 1950.[150]

The judicial record looks like this:

Procedure I (Feb. 22, 1946)	Procedure II (Nov. 11, 1950)
The "Jewish action" took place	
the evening of Nov. 9, 1938	the evening of Nov. 10, 1938.
A group of Brownshirts forced their way into the property of the Jew Wechsler, and found the courtyard doors	
locked	open.
They smashed the furnishings of a living room/office	
with their hands and feet	with implements they had brought.
There were 10-12 men.	There were 5-6 men.
They moved on to the property of the Jew Reinhart. There they	
broke down the house door.	found the house door already open.

One can take the viewpoint that these are merely trivialities, and everyone even a court of law — may make a mistake. But is this acceptable when the urt need simply to have looked at the record of the previous trial?

Arheilgen appears frequently in the court records. It is where — in the ddle of the night of November 9th/10th, 1938 (or early on the morning of 10th — either time will serve) Brownshirt regimental commander M. was nt to demand that unit commander K., based at Arheilgen, set fire to the local nagogue. There was no mention of a unit commander K. in the other two ls, in which a Brownshirt leader B. was designated as the "leader of the al Brownshirts." The Arheilgen synagogue that this Brownshirt leader was have burned never existed.

Demonstrable facts and clearly recognizable periods of time obviously ved to be awkward problems for the West German justices. On one asion it is claimed that the [extremely important state] ceremony of the 9th November had been celebrated on the 8th, then again, that it took place only

on the 10th.

The same transgression, in the same place, was "determined" variously to have occurred in the morning, in the evening, or in the middle of the night.

Another case: At 3 a.m. on the morning of November 10th, Brigade Leader L. received an order that, as was determined in another trial, he had already transmitted to his unit commanders late in the evening of the previous day, November 9th.

Such small errors may not be earth-shaking, but the measure of the penalty imposed on the accused was often conditioned by them. Beyond that, the "judicially determined facts" were used over again as "evidence" in other trials of other accused, and the question, e.g. of whether a door was locked or open might incriminate a completely innocent person.

Such "judicial proceedings" degenerate into real scandal when they label as "offenders" people who were never guilty of even the slightest misconduct, and even when that is attested, in fact, by the verdict of the court itself.

There is the story of a housewife of Bad Nauheim — let her be called Frau Annemarie.[150]

In 1938, Frau Annemarie was 58 years old. She was not a member of the National Socialist party nor of any of its affiliates. No charge had ever been brought against her. In 1946 a court of inquiry classified her as "not suspect."

On the afternoon of November 10th, Frau Annemarie wanted to go to the movies. On the way there, she came upon a large crowd of people gathered in the street. Just as Frau Annemarie was walking past, a bundle of cloth fell at her feet. In a natural reaction, she bent over and picked it up. Only then did she notice where she was: directly in front of the shop of her Jewish friend W.

Frau Annemarie was dumbfounded; she wondered what was going on. She stood there for a while, and now saw that people had forced their way into the store and were plundering it. She held on to the bundle of cloth she had picked up, and went back home. She no longer felt like going to the movies.

At home, she looked at the package more closely: It contained a set of underwear, an unfinished pillowcase, a nightshirt, and part of a curtain. Worthless stuff in itself, but it belonged to her friend, and she wanted to take it right back to her. Then she thought of the men in the store, and was afraid; she decided to wait a bit.

In the evening, Frau Annemarie's husband came home; outraged, she told him what had happened, adding, "I'll go over there right away, and return her things to her." Her husband was against the idea; she should not get mixed up in this matter; perhaps the looters were still there — she might be beaten. It was best to go to the police, and turn the package in to them. Frau Annemarie did just that on the same evening. She left the name of her Jewish friend to whom the things belonged — and, naturally, her own name.

It would have been better for her if she had not done that; now the "case" was recorded. What that signified, she was to experience later. In 1938, Frau Annemarie could not divine that a time would come when honesty would be

penalized, and creatures for whom honesty and integrity are alien concepts would sit in judgment on honorable people.

She learned that in 1945.

The shooting had just ended. The armistice was signed. A few days later, Frau Annemarie received a police summons: "You are to appear... etc." Unsuspectingly, she appeared. In the police station, she met Mr. Busse, the head of the Jewish community of Bad Nauheim. He had survived the war years — and the "extermination of the Jews" — without harm — and was now engaged in "reparations on a private basis."

Busse assailed her: "On the 10th of November, 1938, you stole a bundle of laundry items from the Jewish shop W!"

"I didn't steal it. It fell at my feet. I took it right back here, to the police station for Mrs. W."

"You looted. Either you pay me five hundred Reichsmarks immediately, here, on the spot, or I shall have you prosecuted for plundering!" A police official stood by, listened, and didn't say a word.

Frau Annemarie paid the Jewish community leader five hundred Reichsmarks — a "considerable sum," as the court itself said later, when the Reichsmark had not yet lost its value. It was totally out of proportion to the worth of the bundle Frau Annemarie had picked up from the street, and didn't even keep, but turned in to the police. Nevertheless, Frau Annemarie paid — and began to wonder...

Four years later, she had more cause to wonder: She received another summons. This time to the provincial court at Giessen, to answer accusations of disturbing the peace, and looting, the judicial proceeding to take place on April 20, 1949. In these proceedings, the culpable fact that "for a short time she had been among a crowd of people from which acts of violence would have proceeded" was established. Ergo, grave breach of the peace according to Section 125 II of the Penal Code. Fortunately for Frau Annemarie, the proceedings brought up the fact that she already had been forced to pay the Bad Nauheim Jewish community head 500 Reichsmarks. The police official corroborated that. The proceedings were dropped.

Frau Annemarie was glad, indeed.

But not for long. The state's attorney asked for a reversal.

> In the criminal action against... the criminal panel of the Hessian Superior Provincial Court in Frankfurt/Main, in its session of February 14, 1950 has decided unanimously in favor of reversal of the verdict rendered April 20, 1949 by the first penal chamber of the Giessen Provincial Court, as called for by the state's attorney, in accordance with Section 349 of the Penal Code.
>
> While upholding the factual findings...the verdict is struck down. The matter is therefore referred back to the Provincial Court in Giessen.

The reason given for justifying the reversal was as follows: the penal chamber had dropped the proceedings against the accused (Frau Annemarie) because the chamber held the view that the principles of justice did not require punishment of the accused in accordance with Article I of the Law of Requital.

But the penal chamber had overlooked that in the instance of a criminal act its general consequences and effects are to be taken into consideration. "It must not be disregarded that because of the November 1938 incidents Germany's prestige as a civilized nation suffered severely throughout the world."

In other words, while account should be taken of an individual's guilt or innocence, these should not be the only, or even the major, determinant, of the penalty. Because of the gravity of the transgressions of those two November days, expiation is the overriding desideratum. The fact that this sort of "justice" would damage severely Germany's reputation as a state ruled by law was ignored.

So, a new trial before the Provincial Court in Giessen. It was held on April 5, 1950. By then, Frau Annemarie was almost seventy years old.

Everything had to be regurgitated once again. Frau Annemarie was on her way to the movies. There was the crowd in the street, through which she had to pass. A bundle dropped at her feet; she picked it up. Only then did she see where it came from: the shop of her friend W. She wanted to take the things right back, but was afraid of the men in the store. Then her husband came home and thought it would be better if she took it to the police. That is what she did, that very same evening.

Then, in 1945, she had to pay Mr. Busse, the head of the Jewish community, 500 Reichsmarks. She had been in this court once before, and had been found innocent. No, she was instructed, she had not been found innocent — the proceedings had been halted, there is a difference.

Then, the verdict. The presence of mitigating circumstances was acknowledged...no prior convictions...essentially cooperative in confessing...not a member of the National Socialist party...she had not sought the crowd, but was a casual passerby...she turned in promptly to the police the things she had taken with her...she did not act with any intent of evil-doing...she was not disposed toward hatred of the Jews...

"In these circumstances, the legal minimum penalty of six months in prison is adequate and commensurate."

Frau Annemarie was stunned. She thought her heart would fail. She was so dazed that she could not follow what the judge went on to say: "As provided by Section 3 Paragraph 1 of the Law of Exemption From Punishment of December 31, 1949, the proceeding against the accused is to be stopped."

In sum: Frau Annemarie lost 500 Reichsmarks extorted from her under threat of perjury and persecution by the Jewish community head of Bad Nauheim. She endured years of anxiety and fear, from which she suffered emotionally and physically. She had to undergo police interrogations and court trials. Because, by sheer accident, a bundle of stuff fell in front of her — and because she handed it over to the police...

CHAPTER XXV

Conclusions

This study of the *Reichskristallnacht* draws to an end. Who, then, set the synagogues afire? Was it Dr. Goebbels? Heinrich Himmler? Reinhard Heydrich? Or Adolf Hitler? Was it a Nazi conspiracy? Was it the start of "the extermination of the Jews"?

These questions are regarded today as having been answered in the affirmative, the answers having become "generally known historical facts" that, however, people are not free to dispute — and, in Germany, forbidden by law even to doubt. Nevertheless, up to the present day not an atom of evidence linking anyone in the government of the Third Reich to the *Kristallnacht* has been presented.

It should be clearly understood at the outset that what we know as the *Kristallnacht* is a whole complex of events in which differing trends and actions commingle. Only our purveyors of contemporary history, writing out of context, reporting in a grotesquely twisted and over-simplified manner, can make a "National Socialist Jewish pogrom" out of it.

This study has tried to identify the individual threads of the tapestry, and to show how to what other threads each is knotted. In other words, the book is intended to enable the reader to discern the connections these events and occurrences had with one another.

Herschel Grynszpan

First, there is the "Grynszpan case." Weighing all the data, it can be affirmed, with highly probable certainty, that it was the LICA who induced him to murder vom Rath. There is a valid conjecture as to why Grynszpan refused to admit that during his police interrogations: the LICA had guaranteed him its (very potent) support — on condition he remain silent. The LICA lawyer, Moro-Giafferi, was at his side immediately after Grynszpan's murderous assault. Grynszpan spent a quiet time in a French jail. After the defeat of France in 1940, he was taken to Germany, but his planned trial was never held.

To what extent the LICA, and its collaborators in Germany, had a hand in that turn of events, too, cannot be ascertained. The reasons for not having a trial lie entirely in the dark. Grynszpan disappeared mysteriously from the

scene. It may be assumed, however, and realistically, that secret negotiations between the National Socialist government and the "Reich Union of Jews" produced this extraordinary situation.

It has long ceased to be a secret that practically every Jew detained in a camp or held in prison in Germany in whom the international Jewish associations were especially interested could obtain his freedom — naturally in exchange for a commensurate service by the Jewish side. Only the Jewish leaders knew the criteria they used to decide their choices. The motives for wanting the release of a 17 year-old murderer must have been very grave. Grynszpan, simply as a person, would not have justified it. At the same time, so powerful an organization was the LICA was that, in any event, it was in a position to press effectively its demand that Grynszpan be freed. After the war, under a new name, and with fresh papers, he resurfaced — in Paris, where the LICA still had its headquarters.

While Grynszpan spent the war years safely in French and in German custody, or at liberty in some place unknown, his family emigrated to Palestine. It will be remembered that, in consequence of the "Polish passport crisis" in October 1938 the Grynszpan family was deported from Hanover to Poland. The Grynszpans found refuge in Bentschen, but didn't stay there long. An American Jewish organization got the parents, a brother, and a sister authorizations to immigrate into Palestine. Such authorization normally was based on certain prerequisites: the applicant must be proficient in a craft or trade needed in Palestine — clothes-mending, preeminently, was not among them — or show 1,000 Palestine Pounds in currency, per family, upon entry. Mr. Grynszpan had been out of work and living on German social welfare payments for years. It is difficult to suppose that he accumulated the enormous sum of £1,000 Sterling (or Palestine Pounds) and had it on hand in cash.

Then how did he get himself and his family into Palestine? The Jewish-American organization got them the immigrant papers, did it give them also the £1,000 entry money? Or was that contributed by the LICA?

Either way, that was the pay-off for Herschel Grynszpan's silence. He was not punished. He lived securely through the war years, and was given the opportunity for a fresh start.

The "Ligue International Contre l'Anti-Semitisme"(LICA)

By its actions to damage and discredit Germany, the LICA had gained some notoriety. After the metamorphosis of Monsieur Lecache's propaganda center into an "International League Against Anti-Semitism," LICA, it staged demonstrations that attracted public attention to this new Jewish cabal. It produced a monster spectacular on the occasion of the burning of the Reichstag (the German parliament building in Berlin) on the night of February 27, 1933, a theatrical "trial of the National Socialist government" that hit its high (or low, according to taste) when the LICA "prosecutor," one Moro Giafferi, shrieked

histrionically, "Goering, you set the fire!"

The LICA served as a mouthpiece for Albert Einstein in publishing his proclamation. Einstein was visiting the United States when, on January 30, 1933, Reich President von Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany. Whereupon, Einstein resolved not to return to Germany, even though some circles in Berlin virtually entreated him to come back.

He did go back to Europe, but stopped in Belgium, to settle his personal affairs from there. Then he wrote an insulting letter to Max Planck, the President of the Prussian Academy of Science, and took ship to America. On March 27, 1933, the ship called at LeHavre. A LICA delegation came aboard to solicit the famous physicist's views on Germany. Einstein had left Germany months ago and had no direct knowledge of conditions there since January 30th, but that did not deter him from giving the LICA the text of a proclamation reading.

> The brutal violence and oppression committed against all free spirits, and against the Jews... these acts of violence that have taken place and are still taking place in Germany fortunately have awakened the conscience of all countries that remain true to humanity and political freedom.
>
> The International League against Anti-Semitism has performed the great service of defending justice by securing the unity of the peoples who are not infected by the poison. It is very much to be hoped that the reaction will be strong enough to prevent Europe's relapse into long-forgotten times of barbarism. May all friends of our so gravely menaced civilization concentrate their efforts to remove this psychic sickness from the world. I am with you.[152]

The verbiage bears a malodorous resemblance to the mouthings of Samuel Untermeyer a few months later, in August, 1933, in Amsterdam and in New York. Now, as then, no specific accusation is made; instead there is overall calumny and denunciation of Germany as the incarnation of evil and inhumanity. Opposing Germany are the "good guys" fighting for humanity, justice, freedom, and, of course, democracy.

The self-serving sanctimoniousness of this primitive white vs. black is characteristic of a certain type of Germany's enemies (others lie just as viciously, but are more sophisticated about it). This type of anti-German hate agitation is possible because those at whom it is aimed are usually too apathetic to inquire into the substance of the fantastic assertions that are made. In Einstein's case, one wonders how a mathematical genius can be so simple-minded — if he was, in fact so simple-minded — as to sign a pronouncement such as the one the LICA put before him.

The LICA's next official appeal was in 1936, when David Frankfurter murdered Wilhelm Gustloff, the NSDAP country-group leader in Switzerland. It was not only the attempt of the LICA's star barrister, Moro Giafferi, to take over the murderer's defense before a Swiss court that made the Frankfurter/LICA connection an obvious one. After an orderly trial, Frankfurter was found guilty and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. He was released, prematurely, in 1945. With the help of his influential friends, he went to Palestine. What

hopes had rested on that murder can only be surmised. But it provoked no repercussions in Germany.

In general, what the chroniclers wrote of the activities of another Jewish organization was true also of the LICA: "... always in the background, pulling countless strings, organizing ever new methods of operating underground, but always fighting..."[153]

A Murder Staged to Incite a Pogrom?

What was the purpose of the murderous attack on vom Rath? From the beginning, all who became involved in the case agreed that the person of Legation Secretary vom Rath had nothing to do with it. Grynszpan's initial heroic pose as "an avenger of the Jewish people" was transparently false. The LICA, or whoever primed the murderer, had a different aim. *Someone* had to be murdered — it just happened to be the young diplomat — not because a victim, but because a murderer was needed — *a Jewish* murderer.

What game is being played here? A man is murdered, on an open stage, as it were. The victim is a German diplomat. The murderer is a Jew; he does not try to hide, nor to flee, but acts as though he wanted to be caught, and he is caught. It is the murderer who is the object of the exercise. The instigators need a murderer — a Jewish murderer — because they expect the murder by a Jew to provoke a spontaneous reaction in Germany that they hope will turn into a pogrom.

Is that too bold a conjecture? In eastern Europe, a murder — and often a far lesser offense — frequently led to a popular uprising against the Jews, to the outbreak of a pogrom. In Prague, a Jew had done nothing more than throw sand at a priest; that was enough to cause a bloodbath in which more than four thousand Jews were killed. When the Russian Czar Alexander II lost his life in a bomb attack in May 1881, a Jewess was among those arrested on the spot. Whether or not she may have had a part in the assassination was not even considered. There was a massacre of Jews that took the lives of thousands. Murder was a tried and proven technique for unleashing a pogrom.

There remains the question: Why was a pogrom in Germany desired under all circumstances? Was it intended to cause distress among the Jews in Germany? The "propitious storm" for which by Jabotinsky yearned and strove comes to mind.

Bernard Lecache, the LICA capo, and Vladimir Jabotinsky, the founder of the Zionist Revisionist Party, were both born in Odessa and had worked together closely since Jabotinsky founded his party in 1925 in Paris, where Lecache had come to identify himself very largely with Jabotinsky's ideas. It is therefore highly probable that the "propitious storm" was a man-made typhoon intended to blow the Jews out of their host countries, and in particular, out of Germany, into Palestine. Jabotinsky used his many connections to Jewish communities in Germany to set up the necessary contacts. That, in itself, was not enough to produce a pogrom; it was a first step.

What would have happened if the Germans were as easily aroused to passion, and to taking action, as are, for example, the Russians, or the Poles? There were cruel and bloody persecutions of the Jews in Poland and in Russia as recently as the third decade of this century. The governments remained largely impassive, often not intervening until days after the riots had started, and the ringleaders' craving for vengeance against the Jews had begun to subside.

To be sure, it must be recognized that in these countries a Jewish pogrom was a form of catharsis: The dammed-up popular resentment, and dissatisfaction, actually directed at the government, found a scapegoat in the Jews, and in this way the people worked off their "anti-government" emotions.

In Germany, a Jewish pogrom tolerated — or even organized — by the state would have had a completely different effect. If the National Socialist leaders had sent out the arsonists and the bully-boys who took part in the tumults of that November night — as the "re-educators" keep trying to claim — those tumults would have taken on other proportions, but they would not have had the approval, let alone cooperation, of the general population. The overwhelming majority of Germans would not have supported a state-orchestrated pogrom, and would have taken a stand decidedly against the regime. The German leadership at one stroke would have dissipated its most valuable asset: the love and respect, not to say reverence, they had for the person of Adolf Hitler. Whereupon, most probably, internal disturbances would have followed.

The provocateurs who made every effort to incite anti-Jewish aggression found only a very faint echo among the population: a few wild anti-Semites; a few ruffians; some street rabble; a fringe of asocials; one or another steamed-up Brownshirt troop. That was the full array. Despite their years of preparation — at least since the murder of Wilhelm Gustloff in February, 1936 — and their most strenuous efforts — that was all the backing the instigators could drum up. Hardly adequate for a full-scale pogrom, with hundreds, perhaps thousands, slain. The German leadership would have known that beforehand, and never would have counted on an uncontrolled blood-lust on the part of the German people. That someone did count on that is evidence of a dismal ignorance of the German character and a skewed perception of the German social order.

In this author's opinion, the plan that launched the November occurrences was to encourage the incidents to spread to such an extent that they could be exploited to work up the people against their government.

With that, the impatiently awaited opportunity would have come for the moral perverts who today are "proud" to acknowledge that they betrayed their country during the government of Adolf Hitler. Bringing German Austria into the German Reich, the Munich Agreement, were events that disturbed them deeply, since such international political successes heightened Adolf Hitler's prestige abroad and strengthened his popularity at home.

One of the traitors was Capt. Fritz Wiedemann, (Ret.). the Fuehrer's

personal adjutant. Behind Hitler's back, he maintained liaison with British intelligence, passing over secret records of conferences, reports, and other confidential material to which, in his position of trust, he had easy access. By spurious accounts and lying tales, he strove to create the impression in England that Germany was in "complete confusion"; the Fuehrer's authority and prestige ruined, not only among the entire German people, but among his closest collaborators.

It is intriguing to observe that Wiedemann, in a secret report dated June 30, 1938 to his confidential connection, Secretary of State Sir Robert Vansittart — which the latter then conveyed to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain — stated that, at Hitler's prompting, Goebbels had instructed his subordinate Party organizations that "mistreatment of the Jews" was to start anew. Really uncanny, how Wiedemann foresees the events of a few months later.

In his June 30, 1938 report to Vansittart, Wiedemann claims also that a number of highly placed observers were of the view that "a political set-back for the Nazi-system, and for the Fuehrer himself — as long as it did not hurt the German people — would have some repercussions, and hasten the coming of the crisis."[154]

If the contemplated political setback was not to be at the expense of the German people, a most suitable alternate victim had to be chosen: the Jewish people.

The traitorous clique in Germany kept up many contacts with foreign organizations hostile to Germany, and used those connections to obtain help in furthering their plans to overturn the German government. Many publications have revealed numerous ties to England. The existence of analogous links between German conspirators and the LICA cannot reasonably be denied. In any case, the plotters' plans and prognoses, sent out clandestinely, are sure to have reached Jewish circles, and the Jews would not have been the last to welcome a change in the political order in Germany.

It was not only German traitors, working for the downfall of Hitler, for whom a pogrom, with its attendant disturbances, would have been highly opportune. Testimony on hand indicates that certain Zionist elements, who tried by every means to get the German Jews to emigrate to Palestine, secretly would have welcomed anti-Jewish measures in Germany. World Jewry, represented in the League of Nations by the Jewish Agency, also was stirring for a political change in Germany. A pogrom, that would be seen as verifying his constant assertions of the suffering of German Jews under the "Nazi Terror," would have been especially welcome to Nahum Goldmann, the Zionist leader.

Then there was still the matter of the plan to partition Palestine, a plan that was to be rejected by the British Cabinet precisely at the beginning of November 1938. While Jabotinsky's "Revisionists" opposed this plan because they wanted all of Palestine for a future Jewish state, the Peel Commission plan was seen by moderate Zionists as meeting at least in part their claim to Palestine. Would the British not give in, after all, if they saw, practically before

their eyes, how barbarously the Jews were treated in Germany?

That it was the German Jews who would have to bear the afflictions of a pogrom must not have weighed too heavily on the consciences of those who would be responsible for it. Larger issues were at stake. Nahum Goldmann, for one, espoused the standpoint that the interests of the Jews in Germany were to be subordinate to those of world Jewry. As far back as 1934, he had said, in a conversation with Mussolini: "... our policy cannot be to relinquish the future just to provide some small improvement for the present generation of Jews."[155]

For him, the future of the Jewish people lay in Palestine. Securing their pretensions to this strip of land was in any case more important to the Jewish people than the possible hardship and oppression the Jews in Germany might have to bear.

These reflections show that anti-Jewish outbursts in Germany were, for their own purposes, gratifying to certain groups. They all had the same objective: to do harm to Germany; to overthrow the Reich government; to destroy National Socialist Germany.

Concerns of the German Government

There was one group who had no interest whatever in any kind of disturbance but, quite to the contrary, had a vital interest in, and took the strictest measures to assure, the prevalence of calm and order in the Reich. That group was, understandably, the German leadership. The Reich Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, his Propaganda Minister, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, and the Chief of German Police, Heinrich Himmler, would have taken it as a personal affront if disorders had broken out in Germany; they would have felt they had failed their responsibilities.

The overriding interest of the German leadership did not lie in fomenting anti-Jewish disturbances but in bringing about the inner unity of the German people and to enhance respect for it abroad. These aims, clearly and incontestably evident in German policy in the years of peace, seem today to have been expunged from public awareness. The measures taken against Jews in the Third Reich touched only their exclusion from the spiritual community of the German people.

The statement of that fact does not constitute a moral justification of all the laws enacted at that time. No one can be so blind, or so pigheaded as to deny that many thousands of German Jews were bitterly wronged by being forced to emigrate from Germany. (Lamentably, neither is there any other state on the planet whose policies, or politics, would pass moral muster. Germany, i.e., the "Federal Republic," is the first — and is likely also to be the last — state in history to try earnestly to make amends, and has been doing so by paying astronomical sums as "reparations" to millions of people — in their vast majority, Jews — generation after generation.) Moreover, the National Socialist anti-Jewish measures were entirely legal, and were internationally so recog-

nized. The alien-incited, artificially-contrived *Kristallnacht* disturbances had nothing to do with them.

It is impossible to fathom why one of the most intelligent of the NSDAP leaders, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, is put forth so insistently as the author of the *Kristallnacht* manifestations. He never would have stooped to such crude tactics, if only because he knew they would make the Jews into martyrs. If he had entertained any thought of staging anti-Jewish demonstrations, he had other means for the purpose. In such an eventuality, the disturbances would not have touched a mere one and a half percent, as was the case on November 9th/10th, 1938, but practically the whole Jewish population.

If Adolf Hitler, or Heinrich Himmler, or Dr. Goebbels really wanted to provoke anti-Semitic incidents, would it not have been incomprehensible if, immediately upon receiving word of the occurrence of such incidents they should give strict orders that the transgressions be suppressed at once?

As soon as reports of disturbances in Hessia began to come in during the reunion dinner in the Munich Old Town Hall, Goebbels — after what may have been one of his typical emotional discharges — had his Gauleiter colleagues telephone their home offices to assure the preservation of calm and order.

The same held true for the Brownshirts. Chief of Staff Lutze ordered that under no circumstances were Brownshirts to be drawn into anti-Jewish actions. Where show windows had been smashed, Brownshirts were to stand guard against looting.

Adolf Hitler learned of the events after midnight, whereupon he ordered that this "madness" be ended at once.

Himmler telexed instructions to the SS and the police to provide for the protection of the Jewish population.

The "Deputy of the Fuehrer" (Rudolf Hess) at the same time teletyped a directive to all regional administrations that no fires were to be set anywhere, under any circumstances whatever.

All these orders have been preserved; they are before us in writing.

Looters and other miscreants were pursued ruthlessly.

How can these documented facts be reconciled with the thesis that it was the German leaders who organized the happening in the first place? The thesis does not square with the facts; it is preposterous; it cannot be reconciled.

Far from having started the trouble, the German leaders' presence of mind and quick reactions kept the mischief from becoming far more dangerous and deadly.

It was because Party leaders, SS, and police in many localities calmed the people excited by the agitators and, where necessary, took Jews into protective custody, that the disturbances were quelled relatively quickly and graver consequences obviated.

When dawn broke on November 10th, the spectre had vanished. People came back to their senses. Those who during the night had seized the inviting opportunity to take things out of showcases, in most instances took the things

back spontaneously, not waiting for the official call to do so, or surrendered them to the police.

Dr. Goebbels' appeal to "desist at once from all demonstrations and actions against Jews" did not fail of its effect and showed clearly the attitude of the German government.

The position of those elements in the National Socialist movement who felt the Jews were a "disturbing element" in the "German spiritual community" would seem to have been strengthened by the *Kristallnacht* events. A Jew had murdered a German diplomat, which moved the German population to react violently against its Jewish fellow-citizens. That was the official and generally accepted version.

That the whole affair — from the murder to the *Kristallnacht* — was one large-scale operation prearranged by anti-German elements outside and inside the country does not seem to have been grasped by anyone.

Efforts Toward Jewish Emigration

One consequence of the *Kristallnacht* in Germany was an intensification of the effort to persuade the Jews to leave. To that end, Adolf Hitler assigned to Hermann Goering the task of consolidating the work of the various agencies that were engaged in various aspects of Jewish emigration. A "Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration" was set up. Its principal purpose was to counsel Jewish citizens who had decided to emigrate, to give them the broadest possible support, and to facilitate the completion of the necessary emigration formalities.

An example of the special consideration accorded emigrating Jews was exemption from payment of the "emigration tax," to which every other German citizen who left the country to settle abroad was subject. Their personal financial claims were upheld; pensions, retirement payments, and other income, were to be remitted to them at their new place of residence.

At the German government's expense, with the technical help of the SS, retraining centers were established where emigrating Jews could learn a new craft or trade or agricultural technique that was expected to ease their accommodation to a new country.

The transfer abroad of their assets and their capital was handled generously, not to say magnanimously — a privilege not enjoyed by other German emigrants for whom legal stipulations made it impossible to take out their capital. The Reich Central Office gave Jews without sufficient resources the funds necessary for emigration.

A "Reich Union of Jews in Germany" was operated as the Jewish counterpart to the "Reich Central Office." Its function was to advise Jews on questions of emigration and to represent their interests vis-a-vis the Reich Central Office.

The connection between the Kristallnacht and the accelerated promotion of Jewish emigration by setting up these two new organizations was brought out

explicitly in the first session of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration on February 11, 1939:

> After a brief review of the events of November 9/10, 1938 and the need for unified handling of Jewish emigration particularly after the *Kristallnacht*, SS-Group Leader Heydrich set forth in detail the objective of the Reich Central Office and took up first the Rublee Plan. This plan... was to be the basis of an organized massive Jewish emigration.[156]

"Final Solution" Meant Emigration or Resettlement

The aftermath of the "November pogrom," as the *Kristallnacht* was labelled by a hostile press, looked very different from what may have been envisaged by its planners. A final solution of the Jewish question, a definitive solution of this problem, was now essayed. The attempt was frustrated by the unwillingness of other countries to accept Jews as immigrants. The way to Palestine did stand open, mainly because of the Ha'avara Agreement, that made possible the entry of every Jew and the transfer there of his capital. But not every Jewish citizen of Germany wanted to go to Palestine. One of the biggest problems — and, in the end, an insoluble one — of the Reich Central Office, as well as the Reich Union of Jews — was to find countries willing to take in Jews.

In the summer of 1940, Heydrich, as Director of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, had to capitulate. He writes von Ribbentrop on June 24, 1940:

> In January, 1939 Field Marshall General Goering gave me the responsibility for carrying out the emigration of the Jews from the entire territory of the Reich. Subsequently, despite great difficulties, and in the face of the present hostilities, I had some success in accomplishing Jewish emigration. Since my agency took on this assignment on January 1, 1939, more than 200,000 Jews have emigrated from the territory of the Reich. But now the problem as a whole can no longer be solved by emigration. Therefore, a territorial final solution is needed.[157]

"A territorial final solution." It is stated very distinctly. A new territory was to be set aside on which the Jews would be resettled. That was the "final solution." This word never had another meaning.

For a time, the so-called "Madagascar Project" floated among the plans for emigration. In a peace treaty with France, the French island of Madagascar was to be made available for settlement by Jews. Obviously, the plan didn't go through.

At the so-called "Wannsee Conference" in Berlin on January 20, 1942, "Project Madagascar" had been forgotten. Instead, an "evacuation of Jews to the East" was weighed. However, it must be pointed out that the dubious features of what one alleged to be the "minutes" of this conference have not been cleared up to this day.[158]

Wilhelm Staeglich (author of *The Auschwitz Myth*) shows convincingly that at least partial sections of these "minutes" were inserted, omitted, or altered retroactively to suit the Nuremberg tribunal, and the subsequent writing of history.[159]

At all events, the text of what we are told to believe are the "minutes" of the Wannsee Conference does not even hint that "final solution" might mean anything other than emigration or evacuation. That is supported unequivocally in a letter written after the conference by Legation Counsel Rademacher of the Foreign Office to Minister of Legation Bielfeld of the French desk at the Foreign Office in which he relates the following:

> In August, 1940 I turned over to you for your files the plans worked out by my office for the final solution of the Jewish question for which the island of Madagascar was to be demanded of the French in a peace treaty. The practical accomplishment of the task was to be assigned to the Reich Main Security Agency (RSHA). In accordance with this plan, the Fuehrer has given Group Leader Heydrich the responsibility for the solution of the Jewish question in Europe. In the meanwhile, the war against the Soviet Union has provided the possibility of making other territories available for the final solution. Accordingly, the Fuehrer has decided that the Jews will not be sent to Madagascar, but shall be deported to the east. With this, Madagascar need no longer be considered for the final solution.[160]

Here again is the same clear definition of "final solution" definitive exclusion of the Jews from the European peoples; their physical removal, and their resettlement in a restricted region in the east. This was neither "extermination" nor "genocide."

The first large-scale plan for a full, or corporate, solution was the Rublee-Wohlthat Agreement already discussed. The conferences that followed upon the *Kristallnacht* also had that single purpose of seeking out possibilities to further the emigration of the Jews.

The *Kristallnacht*, engineered by alien intriguers, proved to be a catalyst that propelled the Jewish question into a forced evolution it may not have reached if vom Rath had not been murdered and the anti-Jewish incidents not been instigated.

What the conspirators who planned the assassination and organized the demonstrations intended — to precipitate internal commotions in Germany — did not happen. The *Reichskristallnacht* — however insensately distorted and exaggerated after the war by the mass media and the "opinion makers" — was forgotten in a few days.

CHAPTER XXVI

Kristallnacht Without End?

The *Kristallnacht* troubles the conscience of many Germans to this day. Not because they had any part in it, or approved of it, but because nearly fifty years of purposeful propaganda have made them feel that for having "tolerated" the occurrences the whole German nation is "guilty." "They heard and saw their neighbors' windows broken, and did nothing about it. They walked past the shattered glass in the street, and saw the Jewish shop owners sweep it up, and still they failed to rise in revolt, and to sabotage the 'Nazis'. Their silence meant approval or, at the very least, toleration of the wrong done their Jewish fellow-citizens." So goes the propaganda.

Thus declaring a whole people "guilty" is the more infamous when there is no evidence whatever that the transgressions were either planned or perpetrated by the National Socialist leadership. This book presents evidence that opponents of National Socialist Germany arranged the murder of vom Rath and dispatched provocateurs to incite the big-city rabble to aggression against Jews. The identities of the men behind this is, officially, still unknown.

Words have monstrous power. Before the twentieth century there was no known period in history in which words out of context and outright lies were brought to bear so massively and so remorselessly on the moral destruction of a people.

So long as there exists a special group of people, uniquely obsessed with an insatiable craving for revenge of wrongs, real or imaginary, recent or long past; so long as these people are in a position, by their manipulation of the media of mass communication, to continue to spread lies and hate about the world, a harmonious coexistence of peoples is impossible.

Some have discerned the lessening effect and the ultimate futility of these tactics. They complain that the Germans "don't want to acknowledge their past"; that they are "reluctant to confess" the misdeeds for which an ongoing hate campaign has been reproaching them daily for decades. Those people probably have a foreboding that, as the years pass, even their lies will wear out.

It is a truism that historical truth cannot be suppressed forever. The historical truth of our century includes two terrible wars in which all participants share guilt in whatever degree.

Charging just one of the participants, Germany, with the whole primordial guilt is historically, and morally, perverse. It is blatant hypocrisy and in a very real sense "a crime against humanity." The Germans are portrayed as uncivilized barbarians and murderous fiends. No crime in history, or in prehistory, could have been so horrible as the "genocide" assertedly practiced on the Jews by the "Nazis." That Germany grieves for ten million dead in a war that was forced on her is passed over. The fact that the war's killing machine, once set in motion, ground up Germans just as it did other peoples does not seem to be acknowledged by Germany's enemies.

It is an enduring tragedy that in the meanwhile two new generations of Germans have been inoculated with falsehood. The history taught them is falsified. It has been distorted so grotesquely, and so diabolically, that countless thousands of young Germans, and very many not young, succumbed to the peculiarly loathesome lie, among others hammered into them relentlessly by the "re-educators," that their parents and their grandparents, their relatives and their friends of a generation or two back, must have been beasts. Innumerable victims of this "re-education" were infected so badly that they now spread themselves this spiritual pestilence.

All who have not lost their sense of proportion under the influence of the anti-German hate campaign that has been going on, with fluctuating intensity, since 1914, know that the Germans are the main bearers of European culture and science; that without Germany there is no Europe. As with every other nation, so the Germans have the right to have their history accepted and respected. The time is long overdue for putting an end to arbitrary, indiscriminate, one-sided denunciations of "Nazi crimes" — especially since "the Nazis" committed no more, nor worse crimes than did others, and rather fewer than some. The pretense that a certain epoch of German history consisted only of barbarism, organized criminality, and inhumanity should have been dropped long ago.

Above all, it is time to stop acting as though it were acknowledged fact that there is only one people who suffer all the evil that happens in the world — that the sufferings (actual or asserted) of these special people transcend, in depth and in pain, the combined sufferings of all other peoples — that all the world's agony since time began counts as nothing compared to what the Jews endured at the hands of "the Nazis."

For a people that demands special privileges, that insists on priority of place — and be it only the priority of suffering — integration into the community of peoples is impossible.

The Jews of Germany and of Europe suffered no more in the war than did the inhabitants of other European states. They were no more the victims of planned genocide than were other peoples (and decidedly less so than were the Germans and the Japanese). Their fate was not an extraordinary one, and their pretension to a preferential place among the nations is supported by nothing.

Only when the Germans become conscious once more of their own worth, when they cease in cowardly fashion to give in to the Jews' incessant extortionate demands; when they rise from the breast-beating mea culpa posture into which they were forced in 1945, will a natural relationship among the free peoples be possible.

Tremendous changes, affecting the lives of all peoples, began to make themselves felt early in this century. For one, the progress of nuclear science sooner or later, but inevitably, will confront us with problems that at this time are unimaginable. We can meet this future best — or only — if people are resolved to work with, not against, one another.

APPENDIX

Text of the Rublee-Wohlthat Agreement

Intergovernmental Committee

1 Central Building, Westminster
London SW1, February 1939

The Director, Mr. George Rublee

Dear Mr. Wohlthat:

I have had the honor of holding conversations with Dr. Schacht and yourself. In order that I may not fail to make a correct report of the conversations, I should be greatly obliged if you would have the goodness to confirm whether the following strictly confidential memorandum is correct:

Strictly Confidential Memorandum: the Emigration of Jews from Germany

It has been ascertained that Germany is disposed to adopt a policy which will in every way facilitate and encourage the organized emigration of Jews. A program along the lines hereinafter outlined will be put into effect when Germany is satisfied that countries of immigration are disposed to receive currently Jews from Germany in conformity with this program. If the program is put into effect — and its implementation will be greatly facilitated by an improvement in the international atmosphere — the emigration will take place in a uniform and orderly manner.

I. Organization of the Emigration

ONE. This program relates exclusively to Jews of German nationality or stateless Jews in Germany. The term "Jew" where used in this memorandum as provided by the Nuremberg Laws and denotes the following:

(1) A Jew is a person who has three or four Jewish grandparents. A grandparent is deemed to be a Jew if he or she embraced the Jewish faith;

(2) A person is also deemed to be a Jew who has two Jewish grandparents and who on September 16, 1935 was of the Jewish faith, or thereafter embraced the Jewish faith, or who has two Jewish grandparents and on September 16, 1935 was married to a Jew or thereafter married a Jew.

TWO. There are approximately 600,000 Jews remaining in Germany,

including Austria and the Sudetenland, at the present time. Of this number 150,000 are classed as wage earners; about 250,000 are regarded as dependents of the wage earners; the remainder are primarily the old and the infirm who for that reason are not included in the program.

THREE. The wage earner category shall consist of all men and single women between the ages of 15 and 45 years, who are individually capable of earning a living and are otherwise fit for emigration.

FOUR. The dependent category shall consist of the immediate families of the wage earners, excluding the old (persons over 45 years of age) and the unfit.

FIVE. The wage earner category shall emigrate first, in annual contingents, over a period of three years not to exceed a maximum of five years.

SIX. All persons from the wage earner category as defined above shall be admitted by the receiving governments in accordance with their established immigration laws and practices.

SEVEN. The practical work of organizing emigration shall be carried out with the participation of Bureaus representing the Jewish organizations of Germany under the control of a Commissioner designated by the German government.

EIGHT. The Bureaus organizing the work of emigration may be assisted by foreign experts representing outside private organizations concerned with emigration and enjoying the confidence of receiving governments, on the condition that these experts are agreeable to the German government.

NINE. Passports shall be furnished to persons emigrating from Germany under this arrangement. Stateless persons in Germany shall be furnished suitable papers for emigration.

TEN. Conditions which have led to the retention of Jews, other than persons detained for reasons of public safety, in camps should automatically disappear if a program of organized emigration is put into effect.

ELEVEN. Facilities shall be granted for the retraining of wage earners for emigration, notably in agricultural retraining centers but also in artisan schools. Retraining shall be encouraged.

TWELVE. Emigration of persons in the dependent category shall take place when the wage earners are established and able to receive them.

II. Position of Persons Remaining Permanently in Germany and of Those Awaiting Emigration

THIRTEEN. A definite method has not as yet been found for caring for old persons and persons unfit for emigration, who are not included in this program and who will be allowed to finish their days in Germany. It is the intention on Germany's part to assure that these persons and persons awaiting emigration may live tranquilly, unless some extraordinary circumstance should occur. There is no intention to segregate the Jews. They may circulate freely. Persons fit to work shall be given the opportunity of employment so as to earn their living; Jews employed in the same establishments as Aryans will,

however, be separated from Aryan workers. Generally, in order to provide for adequate administration of the program, centralization of control over Jewish affairs is contemplated.

FOURTEEN. The support and maintenance of the persons referred to in paragraph thirteen above, who are not able to earn their own living, will be financed in the first instance from Jewish property in Germany apart from that portion thereof to be set aside in the trust fund (hereinafter described), and from the income from this trust fund. If the above resources do not suffice, there will be provided for these persons decent conditions of existence from the material standpoint in accordance with prevailing practices relating to the public relief of destitute persons generally. There will be no recourse to sources outside Germany for the support and maintenance of these persons.

III. Financing the Emigration

FIFTEEN. In order to finance the emigration contemplated by the program, a trust fund shall be established in a specific amount to be ascertained by at all events in an amount not less than 25% of the existing Jewish wealth in Germany, which, if transfer possibilities are found, will represent a material increase over the present rates of transfer. At the present time the remaining Jewish wealth in Germany is in the hands of its individual owners; it has not yet been decided how the requisite amount shall be set aside in the trust fund.

SIXTEEN. The trust properties shall be held by a corporation administered by three trustees. Two of the trustees shall be of German nationality. The third trustee shall be of foreign nationality and recognized standing.

SEVENTEEN. The principal of the trust fund may be used to purchase equipment for emigrants of the wage earner category and (subject to cartel agreements) capital goods for the development of settlement projects and for travelling and freight expenses of the emigrants in Germany and on German boats, all in connection with this program of emigration. It is contemplated that an outside purchasing agency will be established to effect all purchases out of the fund, to maintain contact with the German authorities and generally to handle all problems arising outside of Germany in connection with the transfer of the fund. The types of goods which may be purchased by the purchasing agency may be restricted to those which, in accordance with prevailing practice in Germany, are computed to contain no imported raw material or a relatively small percentage thereof; or, alternatively, no restrictions will be imposed if arrangements can be made to pay to Germany in foreign exchange a portion of the aggregate price of goods purchased which represents the computed value (on an over-all percentage basis to be agreed upon) of the imported raw material content of such goods. Agreements shall be made to secure the exemption of goods purchased out of the fund from the scope of clearing, compensation and payments agreements in force between Germany and the respective countries into which such goods are imported. Assurances shall be required of the purchasing agency that the goods purchased will not be disposed of otherwise than for the purpose of equipping

emigrants or for the development of settlement projects. It is the intention to facilitate the purchase out of the fund of such goods of the requisite types and in adequate volume to meet the current emigration needs. The prices to be paid shall not be in excess of inland prices for goods or services of a similar character and quality.

EIGHTEEN. The Haavara method of transfer shall be permitted to operate within its traditional sphere. The Haavara purchases are to be paid for out of the trust funds.

NINETEEN. The principal of the trust fund, except to the extent that it is used for the purposes above referred to, shall be eligible for transfer whenever a change in condition may render transfer possible or whenever arrangements to that end can be made, whether by way of agreed schemes for additional exports or otherwise.

TWENTY. Goods purchased out of the trust fund may be exported free of all taxes or other payments, and emigrants may take with them, free of all texes, levies, contributions or similar exactions, their personal effects (with the exception of jewelry, precious metals, *objets d'art* and with the exception of goods of special value recently acquired with a view to emigration), household goods, tools, and items of equipment for use in their trades or professions, owned or which may be acquired by them in a reasonable amount for their personal use.

TWENTY-ONE. No flight tax or exaction of a similar nature shall be levied against Jews emigrating in accordance with this program.

Yours very sincerely,
(signed) George Rublee

Footnotes

Foreword

[1]Wilfred von Oven, *Finale Furioso Mit Goebbels bis zum Ende* (Tuebingen: 1974).

[2]Friedrich Christian Prinz zu Schaumburg-Lippe, *Dr. G.: Ein Portraet des Propagandaministers* (Wiesbaden: 1963), p. 182 f.

[3]Actually, there were, according to Heydrich, 36; according to the Supreme NS Party Court, 91.

[4]The E. G. Kolbenheyer excerpt is from his *Wem bleibt der Sieg?* [For Whom the Victory] in "Essays, Lectures, Talks," p. 401. (Last complete edition revised by the author, in two sections, Section 2, Volume VII.)

Chapter I

[5]The original of Dr. Best's letter, and the subsequent exchange of correspondence, is in the Federal Archives, Koblenz. (Photocopies are in the author's hands.)

[6]Friedrich Grimm: *Politische Justiz* (Preussisch-Oldendorf: 1974). For the Grynszpan case, see pp. 117-124. Dr. Grimm represented members of vom Rath's family in the Grynszpan proceedings in Paris. He is therefore most knowledgeable about the incident.

[7]A detailed account of the "Polish passport crisis" is in David L. Hoggan's *Der erzwungene Krieg* [The Forced War] (Tuebingen: 1977), 11th printing, pp. 206-213. (An American edition, in the original English language of the book, is now available from the Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, CA 92627.)

[8]Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endloesung* [The Final Solution], (Berlin: 1956), p. 11. For "Kristallnacht," see pp. 10-21.

[9]Heinz Hoehne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf* [The Death's Head Order], (Munich: 1967), p. 312. For "Kristallnacht," see pp. 312-371.

[10]Hannah Arendt: *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (Munich: 1965), p. 274 (German edition).

[11]Grimm, *Politische Justiz*, p. 122.

[12]Arendt, Hannah, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 274.

[13]Guenther Deschner, *Reinhard Heydrich: Statthalter der totalen Macht*, (Esslingen: 1977), p. 169. For "Kristallnacht," see pp. 167-173.

[14]Kurt Zentner, *Illustrierte Geschichte des Dritten Reiches*, (Munich: 1965), p. 514. For "Kristallnacht," see pp. 191, 513-516.

[15]Joe Heydecker / Johannes Leeb, *Bilanz der tausend Jahre; die Geschichte des III. Reiches im Spiegel des Nuernberger Prozesses*, (Munich: 1975), p. 210. For "Kristallnacht," see pp. 208-222.

[16]For this and following information, see Grimm, *Politische Justiz*, p. 121.

[17]Arendt, p. 272.

[18]Erich Kern, *Adolf Hitler und das Dritte Reich. Der Staatsmann* (Preussisch-Oldendorf: 1971), p. 322. For "Kristallnacht," see pp. 319-332.

[19]Heydecker / Leeb, *Bilanz der tausend Jahre*, p. 210.

[20]Hermann Graml, *Der 9, November 1938: Reichskristallnacht* (Bonn: 1958), p. 14.

[21]Graml, *Der 9, November 1938*, p. 13

[22]Graml and Heydecker/Leeb argue for 2; Kern thinks 4; Hoehne and Deschner talk of 5 shots fired.

[23]Arendt, *op. cit.* (German ed.),p. 272.

[24]Curt Riess, *Joseph Goebbels* (Zurich: 1949), p. 226. For "Kristallnacht," see pp. 225-228 (in German).

[25]Graml, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[26]Lina Heydrich, *Leben mit einem Kriegsverbrecher — mit Kommentaren von Werner Maser,* (Pfaffenhofen: 1976), p. 164.

[27]Grimm, *Politische Justiz,* pp. 122 ff.

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 124.

[29]Graml, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Cites Riess, *Joseph Goebbels*, p. 228.

[30]*Judenverfolgung. Materialien zur Judenpolitik des Nationalsozialismus, nach den Empfehlungen des niedersaechsischen Kultusministers* (SVBI 8/78), p. 28.

Chapter II

[31]Hans Grimm, *Warum — Woher — aber Wohin?*, (Lippoldsberg: 1954), p. 187.

[32]*The New York Times*, August 7, 1933.

Chapter III

[33]This and the following text is from Jakow Trachtenberg, *Die Greuelpropaganda ist eine Lügenpropaganda gegen die deutschen Juden selbst — Atrocity Propaganda is Based on Lies say the Jews of Germany themselves — La propagande d'atrocités n'est que mensonges déclarent les Juifs allemands eux-mêmes,* Berlin 1933, pp. 17f. / 63f.; 19/65.

[34]Trachtenberg, pp. 26 f./72f.

[35]Joel Koenig, *Den Netzen entronnen*, (Goettingen: 1967). Pocket Book edition with the title: David: Auf Zeichnungen eines Ueberlebenden, (Frankfurt/Main: 1979), p. 74.

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[36]Yossef Nedava, *Zeev Jabotinsky* (in French) (Tel Aviv: 1964), p. 3.

[37]Joseph B. Schechtman, *Fighter and Prophet: The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story; the Last Years* (New York: 1961), p. 219.

[38]Ibid., p. 214.

[39]Ibid., p. 216.

[40]Ibid., p. 217.

[41]Friedrich Grimm, *Mit offenem Visier. Aus den Lebenserinnerungen eines deutschen Rechtsanwalts* (Leoni: 1961), p. 145.

Chapter V

[42]Grimm, *Politische Justiz*, p. 107.
[43]Grimm, *Mit offenem Visier*, p. 163.

Chapter VII

[44]Ibid., p. 20.
[45]*Ibid.*, p. 21.
[46]*Ibid.*, p. 24.
[47]Rudolf Jordan: *Erlebt und erlitten. Weg eines Gauleiters von Muenchen bis Moskau* (Leoni: 1971), p. 180.
[48]Hoehne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf*, pp. 313-314.
[49]*Der Prozeß gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militaergerichtshof*, 42 Baende, Nuernberg 1947 (IMT), vol. XIV, pp. 465f.
[50]Deschner, *Reinhard Heydrich*, p. 109.
[51]Graml, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.
[52]Hoehne, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
[53]Personal communication of Dr. Naumann, January 15, 1979, to the author.
[54]Graml, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
[55]Verdict of the Hanau Provincial Court, March 17, 1947. Cited in Klaus Moritz & Ernst Noam, *NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht 1945-1955. Dokumentse aus hessischen Justizakten* (Wiesbaden: 1978), P. 145.
[56]Graml, pp. 32-33.
[57]*Ibid.*, p. 33.
[58]*Judenverfolgung*, p. 34.
[59]Verdict of the Wiesbaden Provincial Court, July 25, 1952. Cited in Moritz & Noam, *NS Crimes on Trial* 1945-1955, p. 213.
[60]Jordan, *Erlebt und Erlitten*, p. 182.
[61]Graml, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
[62]IMT, Vol XLII, p. 511.
[63]IMT, Vol. XX, p. 151.
[64]Deschner, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
[65]Reitlinger, *Die Endloesung*, pp. 16 f.
[66]Heydrich, *Leben mit einem Kriegsverbrecher*, p. 51.
[67]Personal communication, January 13, 1979, to the author.
[68]Graml, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21, 23.
[69]*Ibid.*, p. 30.
[70]*Ibid.*
[71]*Ibid.*, p. 26.
[72]*Ibid.*, p. 34.
[73]*Ibid.*, p. 27.

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[74]IMT, Vol. XIII, pp. 511-513, SS (A)-5.

[75]Werner Maser, *Nuernberg, Tribunal der Sieger* [Nuremberg, the Victor's Tribunal], Pocket Book edition (Munich 1979), p. 115.

[76]*Ibid.*, p. 113.

[77]Graml, *op. cit.*, p. 29. 1978.

Chapter IX

[78]The following statements are based on information given the author by Herr von Below, October 14, 1978.

[79]Graml, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Moritz / Noam, *NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht*, p. 107.

[80]*Jude.Materialen zum 40. Jahrestag der Synagogenzerstoerungen in Hessen. Hrsg. von der Juedischen Gemeinde Frankfurt am Main und dem Landesverband der Juedischen Gemeinden in Hessen,* (Frankfurt/Main: 1978), p. 14. Hans Franke, *Geschichte und Schicksal der Juden in Heilbronn vom Mittelalter bis zur Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungen 1050-1945* (Heilbrenn: 1963), p. 126.

[81]Moritz / Noam, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[82]*Die Reichskristallnacht.* Eine Arbeitshilfe fuer Unterricht und Gemeindearbeit. Hrsg. Evangelischer Arbeitskreis Kirche und Israel in Hessen und Nassau (Frankfurt/Main: 1978), p. 46.

[83]Kennzeichen, J. *Bilder, Dokumente, Berichte zur Geschichte des Verbrechens des Hitlerfaschismus an den deutschen Juden 1933-1945* (Frankfurt/Main: 1979), p. 114. *Die Reichskristallnacht (fn. 82), p. 45.*

Chapter X

[84]Personal communication to the author, March 17, 1976.

[85]Ruth, Andreas Friedrich, *Schauplatz Berlin. Ein Tagebuch aufgezeichnet 1938-1945* (Hamburg: 1964), pp. 25f.

[86]Graml, op. cit., p. 34.

[87]Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[88]Ibid., pp. 47 f.

[89]Verdict of the Provincial Courts of Giessen, Wiesbaden, and Darmstadt in the Years 1946-1950. Cited by Moritz / Noam in NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht, pp. 100, 124, 130-132, 137, 149, 157.

Chapter XI

[90]Reitlinger, *Die Endloesung*, p. 17; Graml, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Hoehne, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Deschner, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Uwe Dietrich Adman, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Duesseldorf: 1972), p. 207; Gideon Hausner, *Die Vernichtung der Juden. Das groesste Verbrechen der Geschichte* (Muenchen: 1979), p. 45; Walter Hofer (Publisher), *Der Nationalsozialismus. Dokumente 1933-1945* (Frankfurt/Main: 1952), p. 293; Oppenheimer, Max; Stuckmann, Horst; Schneider,Rudi; *Als die Synagogen brannten. Zur Funktion des Antisemitismus gestern und heute* (Frankfurt/Main: 1978), pp. 106 ff.

[91]Peter Freimark / Wolfgang Kopitzsch, *Der 9/10, November 1938 in Deutschland, Dokumentation zur "Kristallnacht"* (Hamburg: 1978), p. 50.

[92]*Die Reichskristallnacht*, p. 44.

[93]IMT Volume XXVIII, pp. 499-540, PS-1816.

[94]Nahum Goldmann, *Das juedische Paradox. Zionismus und Judentum nach Hitler* (Koeln/Frankfurt/Main), 1978, pp. 181-182.

[95]*Talmud, Traktat Schabbat*, p. 116a.

Chapter XV

[96]Zvi Asaria, *Die Juden in Koeln. Von den alten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Koeln: 1959), pp. 351 f.

[97]Grimm, *Politische Justiz*, p. 148.

[98]Information of the Institute for Contemporary History (Munich).

[99]PS-1721, IMT XXVII, 485-491. This authentic looking document was refuted word by word during the Nuremberg trial by one of the SA leaders, involved in the proceedings. The defense counsel offered Lucke, the signer, as a witness for the forgery. But Lucke at that time was held in US custody and was not given the permission to testify at Nuremberg.

Chapter XVI

[100]Moritz / Noam, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[101]*Ibid.*, pp. 212 ff. Cites the verdict of the Wiesbaden Provincial Court.

Chapter XVII

[102]Heinemann Stern, *Warum hassen sie uns eigentlich? Juedisches Leben zwischen den Kriegen* (Duesseldorf: 1970), p. 299.

[103]Verdict of the Party Supreme Court, January 20, 1939.

[104]Idem.

[105]Johann Dietrich von Pezold, *Judenverfolgung in Muenden 1933-1945. Eine Dokumentation aus dem Archiv der Stadt Muenden* (Muenden: 1978), Document 17.

Chapter XVIII

[106]This remark by Dr. Goebbels shows clearly that he did not inspire the *Kristallnacht*, or he could not have reacted to it so horrifiedly. He may at first have been of the opinion that some, perhaps local, Party element might have had a hand in it.

[107]Personal communications from Dr. Naumann, January 24, 1979 and March 27, 1979, to the author.

[108]DNB [German News Agency], text of November 10, 1938.

[109]Abba Eban, *Dies ist mein Volk. Die Geschichte der Juden* (Zuerich: 1970), p. 385

[110]IMT Volume XXXII, pp. 234-245.

[111]*Deutsches Weissbuch Nr. 3*, 1940, Document No. 6.

Chapter XIX

[112]Vladimir Jabotinsky, *Der Judenstaat* (Vienna: 1938), p. 133.

[113]*Ibid.*, p. 135.

[114]Conversation with journalist and author Rolf Vogel, January 16, 1970, cited in his book, *Ein Stempel hat gefehlt. Dokumente zur Emigration deutscher Juden* (Munich: 1977), p. 211.

Chapter XX

[115]Carl Vincent Krogmann, *Es ging um Deutschlands Zukunft, 1932-1939: Erlebtes taeglich diktiert von dem frueheren Regierenden Buergermeister von Hamburg* (Leoni: 1976), pp. 341-346.

[116]ADAP (Akten zur deutschen Auswaertigen Politik) 1918–1945, series D, vol. V, pp. 754–758.

Chapter XXI

[117]IMT Volume XXVIII, pp. 499-540, PS-1816.

Chapter XXII

[118]Julius H. Schoeps, "Neonazismus und Wurzeln des Antisemitismus," in: *Tribuene. Zeitschrift zum Verstaendnis des Judentums*, Vol. 19, No. 73, 1980.

[119]Eva G. Reichmann, *Flucht in den Hass. Die Ursachen der deutschen Judenkatastrophe* (Hostages of Civilisation, German) (Frankfurt/Main: 1969), p. 30.

[120]Ibid., p. 35.

[121]Theodor Herzl, *Der Judenstaat*, 12 ed. (Jerusalem: 1970), pp. 11, 23 ff, 78.

[122]Ibid., pp. 11, 7.

[123]Ibid., p. 25.

[124]Ibid., p. 16.

[125]Ibid., pp. 16 ff.

[126]Michael Wolffsohn, *Israel.* Grundwissen-Laenderkunde. Politik – Gesellschaft – Wirtschaft, 2. ed. (Opladen: 1987), p. 39.

Chapter XXIII

[127]Herzl, op. cit., pp. 30, 31.

[128]Werner Feilchenfeld / Dolf Michaelis / Ludwig Pinner, *Ha'avara Transfer nach Palaestina und Einwanderung deutscher Juden 1933-1939* (Tuebingen: 1972), p. 24.

[129]*Ibid.*, pp. 26 ff. Cites Circular Decree 54/33 of August 20, 1933 (in German).

[130]*Ibid.*, p. 49.

[131]*Ibid.*, pp. 56, 58, 59, 105, 108.

[132]*Ibid.*, pp. 99-102, 106.

[133] Within the last two years two studies were published which dealt in detail with the subject: The somewhat polemical and strictly anti-German book of Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement. The Untold Story of the Secret Agreement Between the Third Reich and Jewish Palestine* (New York: 1984); and the more balanced publication of Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin: 1985).

[134] Vogel, *Ein Stempel hat gefehlt*, pp. 110 ff.

[135] *Ibid.* p. 230.

[136] Politisches Archiv des Auswaertigen Amtes, Inland II A/B, 83-24, Band 1 (45/1). The original English version of this document is published herein the first time (Appendix). A German translation was given by Rolf Vogel in *Ein Stempel hat gefehlt*, pp. 247-251.

[137] Vogel, *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[138] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[139] Yad Vashem, *Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance* (Jerusalem: 1958), Vol. II, p. 74 f.

[140] Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 193.

[141] *Ibid.*, pp. 239 ff.

[142] *Ibid.*, pp. 245 f.

[143] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[144] *Ibid.*, pp. 241 f.

[145] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[146] Yad Vashem, *Studies*, Vol. II, p. 23, Note 62.

[147] Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Chapter XXIV

[148] Moritz / Noam, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

[149] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[150] *Ibid.*, pp. 95 ff, 98 ff.

[151] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-118. Cite the verdicts of the Giessen Provincial Court, 20 April 1949 and 5 April 1950, and the Resolution of the Superior Court, Frankfurt/Main, 14 February 1950.

Chapter XXV

[152] Willi Muenzenberger, *Braunbuch ueber Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (Paris: 1933), p. 242.

[153] Jon and David Kimche, *Des Zornes und des Herzens wegen. Die illegale Wanderung eines Volkes* (The Secret Roads — The "Illegal" Migration of a People 1938–1948, in German) (Berlin: 1956), p. 72. With the cited words they characterize the "Mossad," the office for illegal immigration to Palestine.

[154] Anneliese von Ribbentrop, *Die Kriegsschuld des Widerstandes. Aus britischen Geheimdokumenten 1938/1939* (Leoni: 1974), pp. 112 f.

[155] Vogel, op. cit., p. 154.

[156] Ibid., p. 292.

[157] Ibid., pp. 312 ff.

[158] Wilhelm Staeglich, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos. Legende oder Wirklichkeit? Eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme* (Tuebingen: 1979), pp. 38-65. (The reference is to the German edition. An American edition is available from the IHR, CA 92627.)

[159] Ibid., p. 56.

[160] Vogel, op. cit., pp. 334 f.

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In addition to works of general interest that contain presentations on the theme of this book, the following list presents an array of historical treatises on individual former Jewish communities in Germany. This shows distinctly that the *Kristallnacht* occurrences were, in fact, exaggerated in press reports and in the pertinent literature. Most Jewish communities reported nothing special for the November 9th/10th, 1938. The rest, as a rule, employed the phraseology — practically uniformly — "... the November pogrom raged also in (wherever) and claimed its victims." However, when no details or references are offered to support that assertion, it must be taken as sheer empty rote. Often, only a newspaper item, couched in general terms, is mentioned, or one or another of the documents — preeminently the Heydrich telex message — treated in this book is cited without commentary.

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I had finished the present book. Noteworthy in the Ben-Sasson work is that the circumstances of the so-called "Holocaust" — though the "greatest crime in history," according to Gideon Hausner, the Israeli Chief Prosecutor at the Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem — are accorded hardly 30 of its 1,450 pages: the Kristallnacht is commemorated by a 24-line paragraph that contains, among other items, an estimate that 100 synagogues were destroyed. I.W.)

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Glossary of Persons Mentioned in the Text

Compiled by Carl Hottelet and the Publisher

Adenauer, Konrad (1876-1967). German political leader. Catholic and anti-Prussian. Lord Mayor of Cologne, 1917-1933. Resolute opponent of Hitler. During the postwar occupation period, he co-founded the Christian Democratic Union, a political party licensed by the western Allied powers. As Chancellor from 1949 until 1963, he presided over West Germany's reconstruction and "economic miracle."

Arendt, Hannah (1906-1975). Berlin-born Jewish scholar, sociolgist and professor. Emigrated to the United States. Author of numerous books, including *Eichmann in Jerusalem.*

Baruch, Bernard Mannes (1870-1965). Born in Camden, South Carolina. His father was a physician in Germany. Financier and public official. A.B. from City College of New York, 1889. In banking business in New York City. In 1916 appointed to the Advisory Committee to the Council on National Defense by President Woodrow Wilson. Supported Wilson's anti-German measures and helped push the U.S. into WWI on the side of Britain. Held significant war-economy positions after the U.S. declared war on Germany in April 1917. As a member of the U.S. delegation, influenced the peace negotiations in Paris in 1919. Author of *Making of the Economic and Reparations Section of the Peace Treaty, 1920.*

In 1934 appointed by President F.D. Roosevelt to be chairman of a committee to recommend legislation to take profits out of war. In 1937 presented to the Senate Military Affairs Committee his recommendation for wartime industrial mobilization. In a replay of his WWI activities, he occupied important war-related government posts and exerted every effort to promote U.S. entry into the Second World War against Germany.

Below, Nicolaus von. Hitler's Air Force adjutant from 1937 until April 1945.

Best, Werner (1903-1989). SS security officer and legal adviser. Department chief of the Gestapo in Berlin, 1935. Head of the Security Police bureau of the Interior Ministry, as well as Heydrich's deputy,

1936-1940. As Reich Commissioner in occupied Denmark, 1942-1945, Best obstructed Himmler's anti-Jewish measures.

Brandt, Professor Karl. Dr.-Med.Surgeon. Practiced in Berlin; later in German Army field hospitals. One of the physicians that alternately accompanied Hitler on journeys.

Dirksen, Herbert von. German Ambassador to London in December 1938.

Doehle, Hans. German Consul in Jerusalem in March 1938.

Dreyfus, Alfred (1859-1935). Born in Alsace. Jewish officer in the French Army. Accused of spying for Germany. Convicted of treason in 1894. Imprisoned in Cayenne (Devil's Island) French Guiana, 1895. Subsequent investigation (prompted, then pressed, mainly by Emile Zola) indicated that documents on which Dreyfus was sentenced may have been forged. A new trial set aside his conviction. He was reinstated in his rank in the army, and awarded the Legion of Honor. (In the mid-1930s, France was the scene of another "Dreyfus affair." Some grain traders and speculators named Dreyfus, also Jews, but otherwise unrelated to the French officer — contrived to rig the market in France, and to manipulate grain prices to their own greater profit, but to the yet greater distress of French farmers, in particular and to the French people in general. The popular reaction to this was so strong that the government was hard put to avert a revolt. Though the second "Dreyfus scandal" was far wider in scope and did much more damage to many more people, the publicity given to it outside France was noticeably less, and in rather lower key than that accorded the first.)

Frankfurter, Felix (1882-1965). Born in Vienna. Emigrated to U.S. in 1894. Professor, Harvard Law School, 1914. Put on the U.S. Supreme Court by Pres. F. D. Roosevelt in 1939. (One of FDR's "happy hot dogs" — Westbrook Pegler.) Exerted all his considerable influence to move the U.S. into WWII against Germany.

Frick, Wilhelm (1877-1946). Reich Interior Minister, 1933-1943. Frick drafted laws removing Jews from German political and cultural life. Issued the 1935 "Nuremberg Laws," which made Jews second class citizens and banned sexual relations between Jews and Germans. Sentenced to death by Allied judges at the Nuremberg Tribunal.

Funk, Walter (1890-1960). German journalist and economist. Chief of Reich press bureau, 1933. Economics Minister 1938. President of the Reichsbank (German Central Bank) 1939-1945). In 1946 sentenced to life imprisonment as a "war criminal" at Nuremberg. Oswald Pohl, imprisoned in May 1946, had been beaten into unconsciousness by American and British officials to testify against Funk.

Goebbels, Joseph (1887-1945). German propaganda chief. Born in the Rhineland. Ph.D. Early follower of Hitler. Appointed NSDAP *Gauleiter*

(regional leader) for "Red" Berlin in 1926. He led Berlin's National Socialists in a struggle for power against Communists and Social Democrats that included bloody street fighting. Named national NSDAP propaganda director in 1929.

As "Reich Minister of Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment," 1933-1945, Goebbels supervised Germany's cultural and intellectual life. Contrary to the image that he was a "Master of the Big Lie," much of his propaganda success lay in his strong emphasis on accuracy and truthfulness. A brilliant writer and speaker, Goebbles succeeded in maintaining German morale even after the tide of war shifted in 1943.

In 1944, he was named "Reich Plenipotentiary for Total War Mobilization." He remained a loyal follower of Hitler until the bitter end. As the Soviets were already in Berlin, raping and murdering, and knowing the fate that awaited him if he should fall into Allied hands, Goebbels and his wife committed suicide in the besieged "Fuehrerbunker" on May 1, 1945.

Goering, Hermann (1893-1946). Wartime head of the German Luftwaffe. One of the great air aces of the First World War. Highly decorated Commander of the Richthofen ("The Red Baron") Squadron ("The Flying Circus"). Early member of the NSDAP. Seriously wounded in the ill-fated November 1923 attempt by Hitler and Ludendorff to overthrow the government ("Munich Beer Hall Putsch").

Elected to the Reichstag (parliament) in 1928, and, after 1932, Reichstag President. After Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933, Goering was named Prime Minister of Prussia, Air Minister, Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan (in 1936), and Field Marshal (in 1938). Hitler's designated successor.

As the chief defendant at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal, Goering defended himself brilliantly. By all accounts, he clearly outwitted his chief antagonist, U.S. prosecutor Robert Jackson. Goering was sentenced to death, but just hours before his scheduled execution, he committed suicide by taking poison.

Goldmann, Nahum (1895-1982). Prominent Zionist leader. Born in Wiszewo, Lithuania. Studied at three German universities. Gifted speaker and writer. Author of numerous books and essays. A dedicated Zionist, he founded and became president of the World Jewish Organization. Chairman of the Jewish Agency for Israel, 1951-1956.

As first President of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims on Germany, a unique institution under international law that acted in name of Jews around the world, Goldmann succeeded in pressuring a prostrate Germany into paying immense sums of money to Israel and world Jewry.

Hallstein, Walter. West German Finance Minister under Adenauer in 1952.

Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904). Founder of the modern Zionist movement. Hungarian-born Jewish journalist of the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, 1891-1895, and then literary editor.

Disturbed by the persistence of anti-Jewish sentiment in so many countries over so many centuries, Herzl became convinced that Zionism, or Jewish nationalism, offered the only solution to what he called "the Jewish Question." He laid out his views in a highly influential booklet, *Der Judenstaat* (1896).

The Jews of the world, he argued, constitute not merely a religious community, but a distinct nationality ("Volk"). He worked tirelessly to found a separate Jewish state where Jews would gather and, he believed, finally live as a "normal" people. Zionism, he once wrote, would be the "final solution of the Jewish question."

Hess, Moses (1812-1875). German Jewish Socialist. Edited, with Friedrich Engels, "Der Gesellschaft-Spiegel" (The Mirror of Society) 1845-1846. After the revolution of 1848, he broke with Engels and Marx, and became a zealous follower of Lassalle (Ferdinand Lassalle, b. Lassal, 1825-1864, Jewish, Socialist, disciple of Karl Marx. Recognized as a founder of the Social Democratic Party in Germany). Moses Hess became a champion of Zionism, arguing for the emigration of Jews from all countries to a Jewish State, pointing out that Jews were unassimilable foreign bodies in the societies in which they lived, and would not be tolerated forever as such.

Heydrich, Reinhard (1904-1942). Head of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), Germany's central security service. As Himmler's second in command, he was also deputy chief of the Gestapo (Secret State Police), and an SS General. Talented and handsome, Heydrich was a first-class fencer, excellent horseman, skilled pilot, and a gifted violinist.

As chairman of the Berlin "Wannsee Conference" of January 20, 1942, he coordinated Germany's "Final Solution" policy to deport Europe's Jews to the East.

As "Deputy Protector of Bohemia and Moravia" in Prague, Heydrich proved to be an adroit administrator. His sensitivity to Czech feelings and his improvement of social conditions for Czech workers won him a measure of popular approval. As a result, Allied officials decided to assassinate him. In May 1942, two Czech-born British agents attacked him with grenades and machine guns as he drove to work in his open-air car. Heydrich died of his wounds a few days later, and was given an elaborate state funeral.

Himmler, Heinrich (1900-1945). Reichsfuehrer SS and head of the German police. Born in Munich. Early follower of Hiter. Took part in the 1923 "Beer Hall Putsch." Became head of the SS in 1929. Elected to the Reichstag in 1930. Chief of the German Police, 1933-1945.

A skilled administrator, meticulous and hard-working, Himmler diligently expanded his SS empire until, by 1943, it had become virtually a state within a state. He was responsible for the concentration camp system, which was enormously expanded during the war years. In 1943 he was named Interior Minister, and in 1944 he became Commander of the Reserve Army, as well as Commander of the "Army Group Vistula." He also organized the Waffen SS into a pan-European volunteer military force of aproximately 900,000 men, about half of them non-Germans. By the final year of the war, Himmler had become the second most powerful man in Germany.

Contrary to the Allied propaganda image of him as a brutal monster, he was actually a sensitive and devoutly religious man with a deep sense of justice and honor. Shortly after the end of the war, he was taken prisoner by the British, and took his life.

Hindenburg, Paul von (Paul Ludwig Hans Anton von Beneckendorff und Hindenburg (1847-1934). Officer and soldier in the Prussian tradition. Fought at Koeniggraetz in the Seven Weeks' War against Austria-Hungary in 1866. Won Iron Cross in the Franco-Prussian War 1870-1871. General Staff and command postings until his retirement as Lieutenant General in 1911. Because of his intimate knowledge of the Masurian Lakes region, recalled to the colors to repel the Russian onslaught of 1914. Commanding the German Army in East Prussia, he won a dazzling victory over the Russians at Tannenberg the same summer, and thereby the campaign. Made Field Marshall and awarded the Order "Pour le Mérité." Commanded in successful campaigns against the Russians in Poland, 1915. Promoted Chief of Staff (to succeed Von Falkenhayn) in 1916. With Ludendorff, conducted all German strategy from 1917 until the armistice in November 1918.

Retired once more in 1919. Wrote his autobiography, *Aus Meinem Leben* [From My Life]. Though abstaining from (and abhorring) politics, he was elected second president of the Weimar Republic, serving from 1923 to 1932. Worked for the unity of the German nation; approved Germany's entry into the League of Nations.

Re-elected President in 1932, defeating Adolf Hitler at the polls. Acknowledging the overwhelming support given by the German people to National Socialism, President von Hindenburg named Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany in January, 1933. Paul von Hindenburg died the following year. His body was laid to rest in the Field Marshall's Tower of the National War Memorial at Tannenberg.

Hitler, Adolf. Born April 20, 1889, in Braunau, Austria (on the German border). Childhood in Linz, Austria. Adolescent years in Vienna.

A fervent German patriot and nationalist, he volunteered for the German army immediately upon the outbreak of war in 1914, and served until November 1918. As an infantryman and dispatch runner on the Western

Front, he took part in some of the most ferocious battles of the First World War. He was awarded the Iron Cross, First and Second Class, for bravery, and was hospitalized after being temporarily blinded in a gas attack in 1918.

Beginning in 1919, he worked tirelessly on behalf of his National Socialist German Workers ("Nazi") Party (NSDAP). In spite of intense persecution, both official and unofficial, by late 1932 he had succeeded in building his political movement into by far the largest in Germany. As a result, he was named Chancellor on January 30, 1933.

As head of state, he moved quickly to transform German society along the lines he had clearly laid out in numerous speeches and in his autobiographical work, *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"). Although intensely anti-Jewish, his views and policies towards the Jews are often grossly distorted and widely misunderstood. Contrary to widely-accepted belief, there is no evidence that Hitler ever gave an order to exterminate Europe's Jews, or that he knew of any extermination program.

During the Battle of Berlin, and with Soviet forces rapidly closing in, Hitler took his life on April 30, 1945.

Jabotinsky, Vladimir Eugenevich (Zeev). Russian Jew. Born Odessa October 1880. Violent Zionist fanatic. During WWI, helped establish the "Jewish Legion," ostensibly to fight for the Allies, but actually to make war on the Arabs in Palestine. After the Legion was disbanded, Jabotinsky was active in the Haganah, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Stern gang, to continue the fight against the Arab people and to drive them out of Palestine. The killings were extended to British mandate and occupation personnel. In 1925 Jabotinsky founded the extremist Revisionist zionist party. With Chaim Weizmann, he voted against Theodor Herzl's "Uganda Project" and in favor of taking over Palestine. In August, 1940, he died in New York City of a heart attack.

Jordan, Rudolf (1902-1988). Gauleiter (regional NSDAP party leader) of Halle-Merseburg, 1931-1937, and then Gauleiter of Magdeburg-Anhalt, 1937-1945. In Soviet captivity from 1946 until his release in 1955, much of that time as a prisoner in Siberian forced labor camps.

Kaltenbrunner, Ernst (1903-1946). Became head of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) after the assasination of Heydrich in 1942. Austrian born. Educated as attorney. Executed after being convicted by the Nuremberg Tribunal of the victorious Allied powers.

Kerrl, Hanns. Reich Minister for Religious Affairs.

Kolbenheyer, Erwin Guido (1878-1962). Prominent German poet and writer. Author of philosophical and biographical studies, novels, philosophical poems and plays.

Lammers, Hans-Heinrich (1879-1962). Chief of the Reich Chancellery, 1933-1945. Reich Minister without portfolio, 1937-1945. Hitler's closest

legal adviser. In 1949, he was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment by American judges in the Nuremberg "Wilhelmstrasse" case, but was released in 1952. Lammers persistently denied that there had ever been any Germany program or policy to exterminate Europe's Jews.

Lehman, Herbert Henry (1878-1963). Born in New York City into a wealthy Jewish banking family. In 1908 made a partner in the family banking concern, Lehman Bros., NYC. In 1914 was co-founder of the American Joint Distribution Committee, an international relief fund to aid Jews in distress. In WWI served in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Closely associated with Roosevelt until the latter's death in April 1945. Concerned with procurement and expediting of war materials. For this he was presented with the Distinguished Service Medal. Entered politics in New York in 1920s. Lieut. Governor 1920-1932; Governor 1932-1940. Promoted the U.S. entry into WWII against Germany. Appointed by Roosevelt in 1942 as Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation (which in 1946 became UNRRA — United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration). Funded (except for negligible token amounts) by the U. S. Treasury, this agency was diverted to serve preponderantly, i.e., almost exclusively the needs of Jewish "displaced persons" and the aims of the Zionists, of whom, naturally, Herbert Lehman was one.

Linge, Heinz. Hitler's chief orderly to April 1945.

Lutze, Viktor (1890-1943. Chief of the SA paramilitary stormtrooper "brown shirts," 1934-1943.

MacMichaels, Sir Harold. British High Commissioner for Palestine in March 1938.

Morgenthau, Henry, Jr. (1891-1967). American-Jewish. Born in New York City. His father, Henry, Sr. (1856-1948), was born in Mannheim, Germany. Publisher of *American Agriculturist,* 1922-1933. Governor; Farm Credit Administration; Undersecretary of the Treasury, 1933; U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, 1934-1945. As "Henry the Morgue," an insider, along with "Sammy the Rose," "Tommy the Cork," "Harry the Hop," et al., in FDR's entourage. After making every effort to get the U.S. into WWII against Germany, sponsored the genocidal Morgenthau Plan for Europe, partially implemented.

Muenzenberg, Willi. German-Jewish Communist. Anti-National Socialist agitator and propagandist. Upon the burning of the Reichstag (German Parliament building in Berlin) in February, 1934, put out a "Brownbook" purporting to record NS "crimes" (including the Reichstag fire). The "Brownbook" was replete with documents, lists of names, photographs and so on. All were false. The forgeries in Muenzenberg's concoction were so pervasive, and often so crude, that it has been dubbed the prototype for the forty-two volumes published by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal (IMT).

Norman, Montague Collet (1871-1950). First Baron Norman of St. Clere. English banker; Governor, Bank of England 1920-1944. With Chancellor of the Exchequer Stanley Baldwin, arranged funding of the British war debt to the U.S., 1922. Privy Councilor, 1923.

Peel, William Lord. Headed the commission that in the summer of 1937 worked out the plan to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews.

Pelckmann, Dr. Horst. German defense counsel for the SS at Nuremberg.

Planck, Max Karl Ernst Ludwig (1858-1947). Born in Kiel, northern Germany. Son of Julius Wilhelm Von Planck, German physicist. Professor, at Kiel, 1885, at Berlin, from 1889. As a result of work on radiation from black bodies, originated, and from 1901, developed, quantum theory. (Based on the concept of the subdivision of radiant energy into finite quanta, applied to numerous processes involving transference or transformation of energy on an atomic or molecular scale.) Awarded Nobel Prize for Physics, 1918. Known also for his work on mechanics and thermodynamics, and on electrical and optical problems associated with the radiation of heat and with the quantum theory.

Ranke, Leopold von (1795-1886). German historian. A founder of the modern school of history, based on objective writing from sources instead of on legend and tradition. Professor at Berlin, 1825-1871. Historiographer of Prussia, 1841. His works include *History of the Roman and Germanic Peoples from 1494 to 1535,* (1824), containing a criticism of contemporary historians; *The Roman Popes* (3 vols., 1834-1839); *German History in the Age of the Reformation* (6 vols., 1839-1847); *Nine Books of Prussian History* (3 vols, 1847-1848); *French History* (5 vols., 1852-1861); *English History* (7 vols., 1859-1868); *The History of Wallenstein* (1869); *World History* (1881-1889, completed by his assistants). Several of his works have been translated into English, notably *History of the Popes,* Mrs. Sarah Austin's translation of which (in 1840) was the subject of an essay by Macaulay.

Reichmann, Dr. Eva G. German-Jewish sociologist. Born in Berlin, emigrated to London. Wrote *Flucht in den Hass: Die deutsche Judenkatastrophe* [Flight Into Hatred: The German Jewish Catastrophe], (Frankfurt/Main, 1969). Examines and explains anti-Semitism as the natural and justifiable reaction of a society striving for the highest attainable degree of homogeneity to the implantation of a strange, unassimilating closed population element. Like Moses Hess a century earlier, Dr. Reichmann sees no solution to this problem other than a separation of the Jews from their host peoples.

Ribbentrop, Joachim von (1893-1946). Reich Foreign Affairs Minister, 1938-1945. Officer during the First World War. Negotiated the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935. Ambassador to Britain, 1936-1938.

Negotiated the anti-Comintern pact with Japan in 1936, the German-Soviet non-aggression pact of August 1939, and the Tripartite pact with Japan and Italy in 1940. Sentenced to death by Allied judges at the Nuremberg Tribunal and executed.

Roehm, Ernst (1887-1934). Chief of the NSDAP stormtroopers, 1931-1934. Officer during the First World War. Veteran of the ill-fated 1923 "Beer Hall Putsch." Roehm built the "Storm Division" (SA) into a paramilitary organization with 700,000 brownshirted members by early 1933. Membership reached a peak of four and a half million in June 1934. Charged with conspiring to overthrow Hitler, he was summarily executed in the June 1934 "Night of the Long Knives."

Rothmund, Heinrich. Chief of Swiss federal police. In 1938, he protested against the arrival of large numbers of German Jews in Switzerland. Unless German authorities put a special mark in the passports of German Jews so that they could be clearly identified, he insisted, Switzerland would be obliged to introduce cumbersome visa requirements for all German arrivals. As a result, a large red letter "J" was stamped in passports of German Jews.

Schacht, Hjalmar (1877-1970). German financier. Deputy director of the Dresdner Bank, 1908-1915. After various private and state banking positions, he served as president of the Reichsbank, 1923-1930, and again from 1933-1939. Economics Minister, 1934-1937. Minister without portfolio, 1937-1943. With Hitler's approval, he began negotiations in London in January 1939 for the emigration of the 150,000 German Jews within a three year period. Acquitted by the Nuremberg Tribunal. After the war, served as financial adviser to mumerous foreign governments.

Schaub, Julius. Hitler's personal adjutant.

Shirach, Baldur von (1907-1974). Head of the National Socialist youth movement, the "Hitler Youth," 1931-1940. Gauleiter of Vienna, 1940-1945. Sentenced by the Allied at Nuremberg to 30 years imprisonment.

Storey, Colonel Robert G. U.S. Army. In charge of the main (but not the only) center for the accumulation of the documents and documentary material for which all files and archives of all levels, not yet seized by the Soviets, that could be found anywhere in Germany were ransacked. It was Storey's job to sort and screen the material sent to the main collection center in Paris. He picked out the material that might be of most use to the U.S. prosecutors, and withheld everything that might be construed as favorable to the German side. All material marked "PS" placed in evidence by the prosecution at Nuremberg stemmed from Storey: PS = Paris Storey. After Storey finished his job of screening, sorting, and rejection, he surfaced at Nuremberg — as a U.S. prosecutor.

Streicher, Julius (1895-1946). German journalist; 1914-1918. His experience and observation of the actions and behavior of many Jews after Germany's collapse in 1918-1919 made him strongly anti-Semitic. Managing editor of *Der Stuermer* ("one who takes by assault"), 1923-1945. Joined the National Socialist movement in 1923; with Hitler in the "March on the Feldherrnhalle"; in fortress arrest, 1924. Appointed Gauleiter of Franconia. Streicher never killed anyone, nor advocated the killing of anyone. He was hanged at Nuremberg as a "war criminal."

Taylor, Myron Charles (1874-1959). American lawyer and businessman. Chairman of the Board of Directors and CEO of U.S. Steel Corporation, 1932-1938. In 1939 appointed by Pres. F. D. Roosevelt as his personal representative to the Vatican.

Untermeyer, Samuel (1858-1940). Prominent Jewish community leader and successful New York attorney. Especially active in corporate litigation and corporation mergers. Developed a reputation for enhancing his large fees with shrewd tactical investments connected with his cases.

Counsel for the Rogers, Rockefeller, Lewishohn interests in their struggle with F. August Heinze over important copper mines. Associated with Louis D. Brandeis. Chariman of the U.S. Congressional Committee that framed the graduated income tax and the "excess profits" laws. After the First World War, involved in international litigation dealing largely with confiscated German private property. In 1927, participated in libel suit against Henry Ford for anti-Jewish statements in the *Dearborn Independent* newspaper. Ford backed down and issued a retraction.

A lifelong Zionist and strong supporter of Franklin Roosevelt, he promoted U.S. entry in the Second World War against Germany. After Hitler became Chanceller, Untermeyer quickly became a major leader in the Jewish-led international economic boycott campaign against Germany. A hate-filled publicist, he agitated for a merciless "holy war" against Germany.

Vansittart, Sir Robert Gilbert (1881-1957). First Baron Vansittart of Denham, created 1941. Educated at Eton. Secretary to Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, 1920-1924. Permanent Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1930-1938. Chief diplomatic advisor to the foreign secretary, 1938-1944. Author of novels, volumes of verse, and plays.

Vogelsang, Thilo, Ph.D. Associate at Munich Institute for Contemporary History. Examined and exposed Willi Muenzenberg's "Brownbook" as a total fraud.

Warburg, Max M. (1867-1940). German-American Jewish banker. Born in Hamburg. Partner of the family banking firm, M.M. Warburg & Co. Reichsbank adviser. After emigrating to the USA, he joined the major New

York banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Member of the first U.S. Federal Reserve Board, 1914-1918. Other members of the Hamburg family also moved to the USA, where they likewise quickly achieved prominence in banking and political life. The Hamburg banking firm of M.M. Warburg, together with that of A.E. Wassermann in Berlin, were the designated trustees through which the Ha'avara transfer agreement was funded.

Weizmann, Chaim (1874-1952). Prominent Zionist leader. Born in Grodno, Russia. Studied at universities of Berlin, Darmstadt and Freiburg. Lectured in chemistry at the University of Geneva and, after 1906, at the University of Manchester. Naturalized British subject, 1910. As head of the British Admiralty laboratories, 1916-1919, he synthesized acetone needed for Britain's wartime production of explosives.

An intense Zionist ever since his student days in Germany, Weizmann rose to prominence as a Zionist and Jewish leader after moving to Britain. Helped bring about the British government's fateful "Balfour Declaration" (1917), which promised support for a Jewish "homeland" in Arab Palestine.

President of the World Zionist Organization, 1920-1931, and again in 1935. President, Jewish Agency for Palestine. President, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, from 1932. During the Second World War, Britain rejected Weizmann's proposal in 1941 for an all-Jewish army to fight against the Axis.

After 1945, Weizmann demanded reparations from Germany. In 1947, he headed a Jewish delegation to the United Nations to promote a Jewish state in Palestine. Provisional president of Israel, 1948-1949. First president of Israel, 1949-1952.

Welles, Sumner (1892-1961). American diplomat. Assistant chief and then chief of the State Department's Latin American Affairs Division, 1920-1922. In Central America, on and off, from 1922 to 1929. Laid the foundation of President Franklin Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" relationship with Latin America. Ambassador to Cuba, 1933. Undersecretary of State, 1933-1943. Sent by President Roosevelt to Europe in 1940 for talks with the continent's major leaders. In foreign policy matters, Roosevelt relied more heavily on Welles than on his own Secretary of State, the ineffectual Cordell Hull. Welles was cultivated, alcoholic, homosexual and Judeophile.

Wiedemann, Capt. Fritz (Ret.). Personal adjutant to the Fuehrer. Maintained clandestine contact with British intelligence, treasonably handing over plans, reports, and other confidential material.

Wolff, Karl (1900-1984). Chief of Himmler's personal staff, 1933-1943, and Himmler's chief liaison officer with Hitler, 1939-1943. Chief SS and Police Commander in Italy, 1943-1944. Behind Hitler's back, negotiated surrender of German forces in Italy. Prosecution witness at Nuremberg. In

1964, he was sentenced by a Munich court to 15 years imprisonment for role in wartime deportations of Jews.

Zeeland, Paul van (1893-1973). Belgian economist and statesman. Prime Minister of Belgium, 1935-1937. Director of a corporation founded in England April 29, 1939 and capitalized at US$1,000,000 to finance the emigration of Jews from Germany within the framework of the Rublee-Wohlthat Agreement.

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About the Author

At the end of the Second World War, Ingrid Weckert was a teenager in devastated Berlin. After *Gymnasium* graduation, she studied theology, including Judaic studies, in Switzerland. Familier with both English and Hebrew, she deepened her understanding of Jewish history during several stays in Israel. Weckert is a librarian by profession, but in recent years has devoted her time to historical research and writing. She lives in Munich.

FLASH POINT

ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 9-10, 1938, hoodlums attacked synagogues and Jewish businesses throughout Germany in an outburst of violence and destruction known as the "Kristallnacht" ("Crystal Night"), named for the broken glass of shattered storefront windows.

Was this the first step on the path to the "Final Solution"? What caused this outrage? Who bears the responsibility?

In this provocative, eye-opening work, author Ingrid Weckert cuts through the cloud of emotion and rhetoric that still surrounds this issue. Carefully reconstructing what *actually* happened from primary sources, she sheds new light on the crucially important but systematically suppressed historical background to that fateful night.

Solidly written and referenced, *Flashpoint* nevertheless reads like a gripping mystery story. No open-minded reader will fail to view the roles of the main actors – from Hitler and Goebbels to assassin Herschel Grynszpan and his shadowy backers – through new eyes.

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